
**SMALL TOWN GROWTH MANAGEMENT
PLANNING FOR SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE CHANGE IN
PEMBERTON, BRITISH COLUMBIA**

by
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ABSTRACT

Using the community of Pemberton, BC, as a case study, this thesis explores the impacts of rapid growth and growth management on social conditions and long-term social well-being in small towns. In recent years, rapid growth in Pemberton has had a significant impact on social and economic conditions in the community. Yet with little attention in the literature to small town growth management, or to the relationship between growth management and social sustainability, the community has little guidance in planning for sustainable change. Employing both primary and secondary research methods (including key informant interviews, a review of the relevant literature, and analyses of related reports, government publications, and survey results), this analysis is intended to contribute to the general body of knowledge about rural growth management planning, and to the community's efforts to sensitively and sustainably manage its growth. In so doing, the study first establishes the theoretical context by considering the history and dimensions of growth management, and by exploring the concept of social sustainability and its relationship to growth management planning. Subsequently, in examining a number of areas of social and economic change in Pemberton (the economic base, the balance of residential and economic growth, housing affordability, town character, and community amenities), this study explores the impacts of growth on equity, social capital, and quality of life in the community, and offers the following lessons for sustainable growth management in other small towns. First, it demonstrates the ways in which growth can impact local social conditions, and the opportunities and constraints it presents for the preservation of social sustainability in the future. Furthermore, it illustrates the importance of considering the regional context in the design of growth management policies and incorporating an informed public into planning processes. Most importantly, this analysis reveals the ways in which a comprehensive and proactive growth management strategy which embodies community values and priorities can improve the likelihood that a community's long-term social well-being is preserved in the face of change.

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Chapter One Introduction

*“(Rapid rural growth) leads to congestion and a land rush, prices and taxes leaping upward overnight, which leads to a psychology of turmoil and robbed peace. Even basic services groan with strain; there seems to be no solid ground to stand on. The newcomers have a hard time finding what they came for, the locals feel overwhelmed, and anybody lacking resources or predatory instinct is inexorably forced out”
(Larmer and Bing 1994, 1).*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

With one of the highest growth rates in the region, the small town of Pemberton, BC, is experiencing significant social and economic change (Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission 1996). With growth expected to continue, the need for a growth management strategy that embodies community values and priorities is particularly strong. Using the community of Pemberton as a case study, this paper explores the effects of rapid growth and growth management on social conditions and long-term social well-being in rural communities. In considering questions of social sustainability, public participation in the planning process, and the role of regional governance in growth management planning, this paper analyzes the potential effects of the current growth management strategy on the community, assesses the strategy's suitability to local conditions, and generates a general set of recommendations for the development of socially sustainable growth management policy in Pemberton and in other small towns experiencing rapid growth.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

While rural communities in North America are increasingly experiencing shrinking populations and economic decline, a number of small towns are currently facing the challenges of rapid growth associated with the urban flight of the 1970s and the recent expansion of the tourist industry.¹ Yet,

¹ While some of these towns are experiencing an in situ form of growth, others are facing spillover growth from nearby communities. Because these two forms of growth have different causes and different consequences, they also require different growth management strategies.

because North American cities have generally experienced greater growth rates than rural areas since the late 18th century, growth management literature has focused primarily on urban areas. That literature which has addressed small town planning has simply applied urban planning techniques and strategies to rural areas, and has tended to neglect issues of rapid growth. Rural communities are different from cities, however, and growth management choices may affect them quite differently. If the economic, environmental, and social health of rural communities are to be preserved under the pressures of rapid growth, more information on the ways in which small towns are impacted by growth must be uncovered, and growth management strategies that are appropriate for rural communities must be developed and implemented.

Furthermore, growth management policy must be tailored to the preferences and experiences of individual communities. Every approach to growth management, from promoting growth to limiting growth, has associated trade-offs. For example, while economic and population growth can attract financial investment, it can also lead to increasing feelings of social alienation. On the other hand, while growth limits can preserve the natural environment, they often increase housing costs in a community. Because any growth management strategy involves such trade-offs, the preferred strategy depends largely how community members value these trade-offs. All too often, the long-term and unintended consequences of growth management strategies, and the particular social and economic characteristics of a community, are not adequately considered in policy choices, and social sustainability is sacrificed as a result. Thus, in the development of appropriate growth management strategies, the long-term goals of a community and the trade-offs associated with growth management must be identified, effectively communicated, and carefully considered.

1.3 THE CASE STUDY: GROWTH AND PLANNING IN PEMBERTON, BC

The resource-based community of Pemberton, BC, is a prime example of a small town facing rapid growth, and analysis of the town's recent experiences provides insight into the effects and

challenges of growth and growth management in rural communities. With a booming economy and rapid growth in the nearby resort town of Whistler, Pemberton is experiencing significant spillover growth as a bedroom community for Whistler and as tourist destination in its own right. As the population increases and development companies build on large tracts of land in and around the village, economic and social conditions in the town are changing. Until recently, however, the community has had little need to consider such issues, and the town's established processes for addressing planning and growth are not well-developed.

Pemberton's growth management strategy, outlined in its 1994 Official Community Plan (OCP), reflects the Village Council's desire to maintain the current level of growth, to encourage development of the tourist industry, and to expand the town's role as a bedroom community for Whistler. Recently, however, as was apparent at a November 1997 town hall meeting on growth, the community has been expressing dissatisfaction with patterns of growth in the community and their effects on quality of life, housing affordability, and town character. Furthermore, the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District (SLRD), within which Pemberton lies, recently embarked on the process of developing a Regional Growth Strategy, and while Pemberton's growth management policy has a very local perspective, its approach to growth will have to be revised to include a more regional perspective.

With a rapidly changing community, the 1999 revision of the OCP on the horizon, and the impending development of a Regional Growth Strategy, the village must consider these issues. Community goals will have to be re-evaluated, the long-term effects of growth will have to be considered, and conflicts between community and regional visions for growth will have to be resolved.

1.4 COMMUNITY GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND THE ROLE OF PLANNING

Patterns of growth that are determined by the decisions of individual interests often result in development that is economically, environmentally, and socially unsustainable. Characterized by urban sprawl, unplanned growth creates servicing and transportation problems, threatens

environmental quality, diminishes sense of community, and creates imbalances in residential and economic development. Thus, an integrated, long-term community vision is essential as a framework for creating and maintaining a liveable and economically viable community. Because the development of such a vision involves the identification and incorporation of diverse interests, as well as a broad and long-term view, forward-looking, progressive, and inclusive planning is an essential component in the pursuit of sustainable growth management policy.

Essentially, the growth management issue in Pemberton is a “policy problem” which according to Black (1993, 26), generates “from a perceived discrepancy between what is considered to be the ideal and the actual situation,” resulting in the construction of policies aimed at achieving social change. Certainly, the community of Pemberton seems to be experiencing such a gap with clear discrepancies between the intended goals of the town’s growth management policy and the experiences of the local community. The role of planning, then, is to identify and define the nature of the gap between the ideal and the reality, and to begin to narrow the gap through the development of effective and flexible policy that addresses the practical needs of the community while continuing to work toward its ideals.

Fundamental to the success of any growth management strategy is the consideration and incorporation of economic, environmental, and social goals. While these three areas are integrally linked and equally important to the pursuit of sustainable growth management, this thesis will focus on issues of social sustainability, and the roles of public participation, regional governance, and local planning strategies in the pursuit of socially sustainable growth management.

1.5 RESEARCH GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The ultimate goal of this analysis is to contribute to the general body of knowledge about rural growth management planning and policy, and to the efforts of the Pemberton community to sensitively and sustainably manage its growth. Though the analysis focuses on the experiences of one community,

it is intended to provide insight into the range of ways in which growth and development can impact social sustainability and to inspire communities to consider policy directions that address social sustainability issues.

In approaching this goal, this analysis aims to fulfill a number of objectives. In examining the topic of small town growth management planning, this paper assesses and reports on the following topic areas:

- the *impacts* of growth and growth management policies (or lack thereof) on social sustainability,
- the role of the regional context in local growth management policy development,
- the role of public participation in growth management planning, and
- the *lessons* about appropriate small town growth management planning that are contained within this assessment of growth management policy in one small town.

Analysis of the Pemberton experience according to these topic areas provides a basis for the generation of policy recommendations for the community and for other small towns facing the challenges of rapid growth.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions outlined in this section form a structure for analyzing both the content of Pemberton's growth management policy and the process employed in developing the policy. Using the above stated objectives as a framework for analysis, this assessment considers:

- the ways in which Pemberton's growth management policy affects issues of social sustainability,
- the challenges and opportunities for the town to incorporate a more regional perspective,
- the extent to which the policy reflects the desires of community members, and

- the lessons that can be learned from examining the town's recent experiences with growth and growth management.

This section summarizes these topic areas, explains their relevance to the study, and outlines the research questions that will be addressed within each area.

1. In what ways is Pemberton's growth management policy likely to affect issues of social sustainability in the community?

Social sustainability relates to quality of life issues such as equity, distribution of wealth, education, health, crime, housing, sense of community, personal fulfillment, and other indices of social well-being. Similar to economic and environmental sustainability, social sustainability can be defined as both the *non-decline* of these indices, and the maintenance of these indices at an adequate and liveable level (Bartelmus 1994, 64). As with environmental sustainability, social sustainability indicators are difficult to assess because they are generally not valued monetarily. But because indicators of social well-being can decline even while economic and environmental conditions are improving, the consideration of social sustainability is essential to an assessment of overall community health. Because social sustainability is extremely broad in scope, this analysis will consider a limited number of social issues that are most directly impacted by growth and growth management. The analysis addresses the following issues:

- In what ways will Pemberton's growth management policy impact equity issues in the community, specifically the equitable distribution of affordable housing, employment opportunities, and the benefits of growth?
- What impact will Pemberton's growth management policy likely have on the community's social atmosphere, including satisfaction with the community, community identity, and sense of community?

- In what ways will Pemberton's growth management policy impact community amenities, such as the natural environment, recreation opportunities, and the small town character of the community?
- To what extent does Pemberton's growth management policy acknowledge and address these issues and promote *long-term* social well-being in the community?

2. To what extent does the community's growth management policy include a regional perspective?

Since the environmental movement of the 1970s, policy makers have recognized that the effects of growth reach well beyond municipal boundaries. With the ineffectiveness of local growth control measures to address trans-boundary issues increasingly recognized (Baldassare et al 1996), the role of regional governance in growth management is gaining momentum. This trend is reflected in the expanding role of regional governance in addressing growth management issues in British Columbia. Because the SLRD has opted to develop a Regional Growth Strategy (under the 1995 Growth Strategies Act), the Province will require Pemberton's growth management policy to conform to the regional strategy. Furthermore, because economic and social trends tend not to respect political boundaries, a regionally focused growth management strategy is essential to the maintenance of a socially sustainable community. Thus, in evaluating the community's growth management policy, this analysis considers the following questions:

- To what extent have the broader economic, environmental, and social conditions in which Pemberton is growing been considered in the development of its growth management policy?
- In what ways will these regional conditions likely affect social conditions in the community?
- In what ways will the community's growth management policy likely impact the region?
- What challenges and opportunities can the community of Pemberton be expected to face as it participates in the development of a Regional Growth Strategy?

3. To what extent does Pemberton's growth management policy reflect the desires of the community members?

The significance of community support to the success of policy development and implementation is increasingly recognized. Because population and economic growth affect just about everyone in a community, this is particularly true of policies designed to direct and manage growth. The participation of community members in creating a community vision, defining community goals, and developing policy is essential to the success of the policy, to the satisfaction of community members, and to the long-term, healthy functioning of the community. In analyzing Pemberton's growth management strategy, then, this paper considers the following questions:

- Who is making the growth management decisions that affect the community?
- What sort of process was employed in designing the community's current growth management strategy?
- What are the growth management goals of the community, and in what ways have these goals changed since the plan was written in 1994?
- In what ways have community views been incorporated into the strategy?

4. Finally, what lessons can be derived from an analysis of the growth management experiences of Pemberton?

As was previously noted, the goal of this paper is not merely to offer a narrative of the growth management experiences of the community, but to provide insight into the processes which shape growth in the community, and to contribute to the body of knowledge on rural planning and growth management. Thus, in this analysis, the following questions are considered:

- What strategies might the community employ in the future to maintain its quality of life and to address the trade-offs associated with the implementation of growth management policies?
- In what ways might the community minimize its challenges and maximize its opportunities in developing a more regionally focused growth management policy?

- In what ways could the town's growth management policy better incorporate the diverse views of community members?
- To what extent can these lessons be applied to other rural communities experiencing rapid growth?

In analyzing Pemberton's growth management strategy, these questions are addressed, the lessons that can be learned from examining the town's process of growth management policy development are considered, and a set of policy recommendations encompassing a long-term planning perspective are suggested.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

The above stated questions are intended to investigate the relationship between growth management and social sustainability, and to elucidate the nature of the links between growth management theory and the real life experiences of the community. In exploring these questions, this analysis utilizes a number of well tested social research methods. This section outlines the methods that are used, the primary weaknesses of each method, and the limitations of the overall research framework

1.7.1 Research Methods

This analysis employs both primary and secondary research methods. Primary research methods include a single case study and key informant interviews, and secondary research methods include a review of relevant literature and other secondary sources.

1. review of literature and other secondary sources

Secondary sources utilized in this analysis include books, journal articles, newspaper articles, reports, government publications, and survey results. As a research method, review of secondary sources provides a great deal of relevant contextual information, enables the researcher to construct a sound theoretical framework, and allows the researcher to validate and corroborate the information gathered from primary sources. In this study, a review of such secondary sources as books and journals provides an understanding of growth management theory and the principles of social sustainability. Government publications, reports, and survey results offer qualitative and quantitative information about the social, economic, and political context within which growth is occurring in the community and about community perspectives on growth issues.

2. key informant interviews

Key informant interviews offer a more complete understanding of the comprehensive contextual framework within which research is conducted and provide the researcher with expert knowledge and opinions. Because it “taps a depth of meaning in our concepts” that are unavailable in surveys or reports (Babbie 1992, 307), interviewing is a necessary means of uncovering the motives behind policy development. Interviews (based on a series of open-ended questions) with community leaders and policy makers in Pemberton reveal the meaning, motivation, hopes, and fears behind the community’s growth management strategy, and therefore assist in the generation of policy recommendations that meet community needs. A list of the interviews conducted for this research and the questions used as a basis for the interviews is contained within Appendix I.

3. single case study

As a research method, the case study enables theoretical and empirical data to be examined within a larger context and explores complex social, political, and economic relationships at the levels

at which these interactions occur (Orum 1991). The Pemberton experience, as a case study, allows for an empirical analysis of the process of policy development, the impacts of growth, and the potential effects of growth management on social conditions in a rural community. Further, it provides a framework within which to examine the relevance of planning literature to real life planning problems.

1.7.2 Limitations of the Research Methods

While these research methods have been chosen for their utility in addressing the type of social issues considered in this paper, no social research methods are without their weaknesses. If these methods are to be utilized, their limitations must be acknowledged.

1. review of literature and other secondary sources

While they are essential for constructing a theoretical framework and for validating, corroborating, and supplementing information gathered from primary sources, secondary sources are inherently biased by the views of their authors, and the information contained within them is difficult to verify. In this study in particular, the views of the community are represented by the results of a public meeting and a community survey; because not every resident participated, data may not accurately reflect the views of the entire community. By examining secondary sources produced from a wide variety of perspectives and for a broad range of purposes, however, secondary sources can provide a well-balanced framework for analysis.

2. key informant interviews

The primary weakness of key informant interviews as a research method is their lack of generalizability; the opinions of the interviewees do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the entire population. In the Pemberton case, the growth management views of policy makers may be quite different from those of community members. Furthermore, subjectivity is inherent within any

interview process; first, the choice of interview questions and the interpretation of interview results are unavoidably biased by the interviewer. Second, intentionally or not, interviewees may relay answers that s/he thinks the researcher wants to hear (Babbie 1992). Thus, to avoid misrepresenting the general community's opinions, the roles and biases of the interviewer and the interviewees must be acknowledged.

3. single case study

Like key informant interviews, the single case study lacks generalizability; while the information gathered may facilitate the generation of recommendations and plans for the area being studied, the conclusions drawn from the research may not apply to other areas. Indeed, Pemberton has a distinct history and identity, and its experiences with growth and growth management may not be replicated elsewhere. Furthermore, because data gathered in a case study is largely qualitative, the information can be highly subjective and is often less reliable than data gathered through other research methods (Orum 1991). An effective literature review, however, can corroborate or refute the data gathered in a case study, and can help situate a case study by revealing commonalities and contrasts between experiences.

Despite their weaknesses, these are effective methods of gathering meaningful and relevant information. In this analysis, every attempt is made to address the above stated limitations; both quantitative and qualitative data are used, data is cross-referenced, and any subjective biases that might affect the outcomes of the research or the nature of the recommendations are identified and acknowledged.

1.7.3 Limitations of the Research Framework

In addition to the weaknesses inherent within the use of these research methods, there are two primary limitations to the overall research framework utilized in this analysis. First, in choosing to limit the study to *social* sustainability, the equally important *economic* and *environmental* elements of sustainability are not directly addressed. Because all three elements of sustainability are integrally linked, and none can exist without the other, the focus on social sustainability paints an incomplete picture of sustainable growth management in Pemberton. However, incorporating a complete sustainability framework into this analysis would be unfair; it would be nearly impossible to do justice to each area of sustainability in a Masters length paper. Furthermore, social sustainability is not only intrinsically valuable, but also tends to reflect the environmental and economic health of a community; thus, its study contributes to an understanding of a community's overall well-being. Finally, because Pemberton is a small community with only recent experiences with rapid growth and with relatively undeveloped planning procedures and processes, an assessment based on a broad sustainability framework would generate a daunting set of recommendations. A more useful approach, then, is to encourage sustainable growth management planning by addressing the concerns that are most relevant to community members' lives and most immediately and directly impacted by growth. Because these primary concerns are quality of life issues (such as housing, community amenities, and community satisfaction) they fall into the category of social sustainability. Where environmental and economic conditions play a direct role in the specific social issues addressed in the analysis, they too are addressed.

Second, rather than a comprehensive list of specific recommendations, this analysis provides only a limited set of general recommendations for guiding future growth management in the community. While a more comprehensive list might be useful, a detailed set of recommendations created by some one outside of the community would be inappropriate. Rather, the paper focuses on the lessons that can be learned from the analysis, and provides recommendations for the most

appropriate directions in which to take growth in order to foster social sustainability. The specific details of growth management policy should be decided by the community, based on its needs and priorities.

1.8 THE STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

Chapter Two of this paper reviews the literature first on growth management in general and second on growth management in rural communities. The major traditions in growth management are outlined and the nature of the current growth management debate is elucidated. *Chapter Three* considers the principles of social sustainability and its relationship to growth management planning, public participation, and regional governance. *Chapter Four* introduces Pemberton as the case study chosen to explore small town growth management issues, including the history of growth and growth management in the area and the institutional context for growth management planning in the town. *Chapter Five* analyzes the community's current growth management policy within a social sustainability framework. *Chapter Six* considers the lessons about small town growth management planning that are contained within the analysis and proffers a set of general recommendations for the future of growth management in the area.

Part 1 The Theoretical Context

Chapter Two Growth Management

"The hallmark of growth management is its balance among competing objectives" (Godschalk 1992, 423).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As a relatively new area of planning, growth management is, in many ways, still in the experimental stages. Defined as "the expansion of developed space" due to increases in population and economic prosperity (Chinitz 1990, 3), community growth can seriously impact environmental health, quality of life, cost of living, and economic prosperity. Expressed primarily as land use controls, the debate on growth management raises such hotly debated political issues as individual rights and democratic representation. Those in favor of growth limits tout their utility in preserving environmental integrity and quality of life; those opposed to such controls point to their exclusionary impacts on housing costs. Despite the potential costs of growth limits, however, unmanaged growth threatens the social, economic, and environmental health of many small towns, and effective and sensitive growth management policy can serve to protect the well-being of these communities today and in the future. Ultimately, any growth management strategy will involve trade-offs; the yet unresolved challenge of communities in managing growth, then, is to identify and consider these trade-offs, and to strike a balance between often competing interests.

In examining the potential impacts of growth and growth management policy on the community of Pemberton, an understanding of the effects of growth management is necessary. This chapter will outline the history of growth management planning, the nature of the debate over limiting growth, and the issues associated with growth management in rural communities.²

² Though it has a comparatively long history of regional governance, British Columbia's history of growth management planning has not differed significantly from that of the United States. Yet, because a large majority of the literature on growth management focuses on the experiences of American cities and towns, this review of growth management literature has a decidedly American bias.

2.2 DEFINING GROWTH MANAGEMENT

Because the concept of 'growth management' tends to be incorrectly equated with *limits* or *controls* on growth, growth management policies (especially those related to land use regulation) are often perceived as overly restrictive and threatening to individual rights. However, while growth *controls* are designed to limit population and economic growth to levels below what would be attained in an unconstrained market (through caps or moratoria on the distribution of residential and commercial building permits and business licenses), growth *management* aims "to redistribute growth and development in ways that minimize negative environmental, social, and fiscal impacts." (Landis 1992, 490-491). This redistribution of growth and development is achieved primarily through such land use regulations as zoning, annexation controls, urban growth boundaries, and infrastructure service requirements. In another, more comprehensive definition of growth management, Chinitz (1990, 6) writes that it seeks to maintain "an ongoing equilibrium between development and conservation, between various forms of development and the concurrent provision of infrastructure, between the demands for public services generated by growth and the supply of revenues to finance those demands, and between progress and equity."

2.3 TRADITIONS IN GROWTH MANAGEMENT

When cities around the globe began to reach populations in the millions in the 19th century, the resulting shifts in urban life were accompanied by an increasingly negative view toward growth. Whether motivated by fear of crime, environmental degradation, and aesthetic change, or by apprehension about the compaction of political power and movement of social classes, concerns about growth illuminated the fact that population increases would indeed create change and that these changes must be acknowledged and addressed in urban management (MacPherson and Yearly 1987). This understanding marked the beginning of a debate that continues today -- whether to promote growth, limit growth, or to allow it to continue uncontrolled.

Until the 1970s, growth was managed primarily through local land use regulations rather than state legislative mandates. Recognizing that developers do not take into account the full range of social costs and benefits in their decision making processes, local governments instituted systems of zoning ordinances, building codes, and other regulatory controls to ensure that patterns of land use were not determined entirely by market forces (Chinitz 1990). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, three commissions that convened around issues of urban growth concluded that social, economic, and environmental problems in the United States were closely related to local growth policies and pushed for greater non-local control of growth issues. One commissioner concluded that "important developments should be regulated by governments that represent all the people whose lives are likely to be affected by it" (Bollens 1992, 456, citing Reilly), and the trend toward extra-local government-regulated growth management was initiated.

2.3.1 The 1970s: Environmental Awareness and Growth Restrictions

The 1970s brought the public awareness of environmental and natural resource concerns to the forefront of political and social arenas in the United States. This trend was reflected in a proliferation of restrictive growth management legislation that aimed to reduce stress on the environment and improve natural resource management primarily through land control measures that limited growth to the greatest extent possible (DeGrove and Metzger 1993).

The 1970s also saw the introduction of the first growth management strategies that were initiated and controlled at the state level. Recognizing the inability of local level growth management to address regional issues, such as environmental protection and transportation, Colorado and Vermont passed the first state growth management policies in 1970. It was Oregon's comprehensive and integrated 1973 legislation, however, that set the standard for state growth management, and it remains the model for powerful and effective state level growth management planning today (Bollens 1992, DeGrove and Metzger 1993). Despite efforts to shift away from the hierarchical governance structures

that had dominated previous planning efforts, growth management legislation in the 1970s remained *pre-emptive* -- that is, states maintained direct regulatory power over local growth management. State governments were entitled to conduct permit reviews and to pre-empt local action. Thus, local growth management initiatives necessarily reflected state agendas (Bollens 1992).

While growth limits and environmental protection remain common goals in growth management planning, the pre-emptive, restrictive approach of the 1970s did encounter resistance. First, state control of growth interfered with the siting of both public and private enterprise, inciting resentment about perceived violations to property rights and hindrances to economic growth. Furthermore, growth management legislation that focused on state goals did not effectively manage local or regional issues (Bollens 1992). Thus, beginning in the mid-1970s, a shift occurred toward a more cooperative approach to growth control that would redefine growth management in the 1980s.

2.3.2 The 1980s: Growth Promotion and the Integration of State and Local Goals

The recessions of the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the elections of the conservative Reagan and Bush administrations, impacted planning and growth management in a number of ways.³ First, the recessions inspired a shift at the state level away from growth restriction toward growth attraction. Local goals, however, remained primarily restrictive, and the need was recognized for greater collaboration between state and local governments in order to accommodate increasingly conflicting interests. Simultaneously, funding dwindled for planning as economic strife reduced financial resources and the Reagan and Bush administrations de-prioritized the role of social agencies. Thus, social issues were increasingly incorporated into planning policy, and growth management planning was increasingly transferred to the local level (DeGrove and Metzger 1993; Bollens 1992).

³ While this section describes growth management trends in the United States, similar trends were occurring at this time in Canada and the U.K. with the elections of Mulroney and Thatcher, respectively.

The result was a *conjoint* approach to growth management which focused both on the environmental concerns brought to light in the 1970s and on economic development, infrastructure, and quality of life issues (Bollens 1992). The goal of conjoint planning was to involve cities in growth management without compromising state goals. Attempting to balance state pro-growth goals with local growth restrictive goals and to reduce state expenditures, the state's role in growth management was restructured. Rather than direct legislative power, the state maintained control of local growth planning through mandating the development of local comprehensive plans that were consistent with state agendas. Local governments that did not comply were subject to penalties in the form of reduced discretionary funding (Bollens 1992).

While the conjoint approach to growth management represented a shift away from strict hierarchical control, the state still maintained a large measure of control over local growth management. Especially during the conservative Reagan and Bush administrations, defense of private property rights was a major issue, and state control of land use led to increasing dissatisfaction at the local level. Furthermore, despite the expressed pre-eminence of local growth management initiatives, state mandates still dominated growth management, and local and regional issues continued to be unsatisfactorily addressed (Bollens 1992). Thus, another shift occurred in the late 1980s toward a more cooperative approach that continues to dominate growth management in today.

2.3.3 The 1990s: Cooperation and Regionalism

Growth management in the 1990s has grown out of a resurgence in regional governance and intergovernmental integration (DeGrove and Metzger 1993). With a focus on improving quality of life and resolving the tensions between local and state agendas, a *cooperative* approach has come to dominate growth management planning in the United States (Bollens 1992). With decreasing state control, the cooperative approach does not require local comprehensive plans. States may offer incentives to local governments, usually in the form of funding and technical assistance, in exchange

for compliance with state growth goals, but penalties are not incurred for inconsistency with the state agenda (Bollens 1992).

While the current trend in growth management hasn't resolved the issue of conflicting local and state goals, it has reduced resentment at the local level and has allowed for greater accommodation of local needs. Despite such attempts to resolve conflicting agendas, however, the controversy over the appropriateness and utility of growth management in general has not waned.

2.3.4 The Growth Management Debate

At the heart of discussions about growth management is the debate over the implementation of growth controls. Since growth management emerged as a major political issue in the 1970s, the efficacy and merit of growth *limits* have been fervently debated. The argument centers around the issues of land use control, environmental integrity, housing affordability, and community exclusivity, as limits can render a city unaffordable to particular segments of the population (Birch 1992). Because issues of quality of life are at the heart of the debate, there seems to be no middle ground; people either support growth limits or they do not (Landis 1992). Studies of growth control efforts have shown a wide range of outcomes supporting arguments both for and against limiting growth; the following outlines some of the key elements of the debate:

Arguments Against Growth Limits

1. growth limits increase housing costs

Those opposed to growth limits argue that they result in increased housing costs that are unfairly exclusionary to some elements of the population (Feitelson 1993). One of the primary strategies for controlling growth is to limit housing developments. From an economics perspective, merely creating a scarcity of housing raises its value. Furthermore, with building permits increasingly difficult and expensive to obtain, developers face decreasing profits. Thus, they shift to developments with greater

profit margins--that is, building fewer more expansive and more expensive houses (Landis 1992). Since building limits cannot cap population growth, however, cities continue to grow, but become ever more affluent as the demand for housing increases and rising housing costs force moderate and low income households out of the city.

Numerous studies, many of them conducted in California, support the contention that the implementation of growth limits results in significant increases in housing costs. When residential growth limits were put in place in San Diego County in the late 1980s, for example, housing costs rose by sixty-one percent in less than two years (Downs 1992, 420). As a result of such studies, many authors, such as Fischel (1991), Feitelson (1993), and Downs (1992), have concluded that growth controls "do greatly -- and often unnecessarily -- raise housing costs, thereby reducing housing affordability" (Downs 1992, 420).

2. growth limits cause urban sprawl

Some point to urban sprawl as a negative consequence of growth limits. With the difficulty and expense of obtaining building permits, developers look to build on "the next-best sites" on a city's periphery (Fischel 1991, 341). As housing availability decreases and housing expenses increase, people look to less expensive outlying communities, leading to ever-expanding housing developments outside city limits. Such sprawl has negative impacts on the environment as land is rapidly consumed for development and the car becomes increasingly important for commuting purposes. In Rochester, Minnesota, for example, zoning regulations intended to preserve farmland were shown to increase sprawling development, causing environmental and transportation problems in the outlying areas (Fischel 1991).

3. growth limits damage a city's fiscal health

Those against growth limits further argue that such controls are damaging to a city's fiscal health. First, due to inflation and depreciation calculations, newer developments are assessed much higher taxes; thus, limiting new developments also limits a city's revenue base (Landis 1992). Furthermore, because developers are often required to take responsibility for building new (and improving existing) infrastructure and services as a condition of permit approval, limiting new development increases the city's expenditures on such services (Landis 1992).

4. growth improves quality of life

Finally, many prefer to promote rather than limit growth to improve a city's quality of life. The improvements in a city's amenities that result from economic growth, such as more shops and greater entertainment opportunities, for some people override the negative impacts of growth.

While the arguments against growth limits are compelling, there are just as many arguments that support the implementation of such controls. These arguments are detailed below:

Arguments For Growth Limits

1. growth controls do not raise housing costs

Despite the evidence that growth controls raise housing costs, many argue that such controls have no effect on housing costs and that changes in housing affordability are caused by other factors. In a study of several cities in California in the 1980s, only some of which had implemented growth controls, the growth-restricted communities showed no greater increase in housing costs than the communities without growth controls (Landis 1992). Landis (1992, 498) argues that so many loopholes are built into growth limit legislation that they are sometimes rendered ineffective, but that they do serve "to regularize the development cycle by smoothing out the normal peaks and valleys that

characterize real estate development.” Furthermore, as Downs (1992, 422) suggests, to the extent that growth limits do raise housing costs, some communities might consider the results -- “raising local home values and excluding potential low-income residents” -- to be beneficial, rather than detrimental to the community.

2. growth, not growth controls, cause sprawl

While growth limits can contribute to urban sprawl, *unmanaged* growth is generally thought to cause more serious urban sprawl problems. The British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1993b), the Fraser Basin Management Program et al (1995), Chinitz (1990), and many others argue that the sprawl that results from a laissez-faire approach to growth causes a multitude of environmental and social problems, including increased energy consumption, increased pollution, loss of productive agricultural land, loss of biodiversity, disrupted hydrologic cycles, loss of green space, stress on the provision of fire and police services, and diminished sense of community. In a number of cities, growth controls, especially urban growth boundaries, have been implemented for the purposes of containing growth, encouraging densification, and preventing environmental damage outside of city limits.

Taking a different approach to the sprawl issue, Chinitz does not dispute that growth limits contribute to urban sprawl, but he argues that the perception that such sprawl has negative impacts on the environment is based on an out-dated model of development. He argues that while suburban development increased car dependency after World War II, modern suburban development does not. With increasing employment centers in the suburbs, people are no longer forced to commute to the city for work. He points to a 1984 study showing that in the six largest metropolitan areas in the American Northeast, the suburbs accounted for 55% of the population and 57% of employment (Chinitz 1990, 7). Thus, though he does not dispute that growth controls contribute to sprawl, he argues that it is “the technological advances that encourage the burning of fossil fuels and behavioral attitudes that

encourage the undisciplined use of the private automobile” that are to blame for environmental degradation (Chinitz 1990, 4).

3. growth controls improve a city’s fiscal health

Studies have also refuted that growth limits damage a city’s fiscal health. On the contrary, cities have in some instances shown improved fiscal health after implementation of growth limits. Because limits most often impact residential development, the proportion of commercial and industrial development increases over the long-term. Since such properties are assessed higher taxes per increment of population, a city’s tax revenue base can actually increase with the implementation of growth limits. Furthermore, if limiting housing supply raises the value of the existing supply, then it also raises the per-property tax revenue in the city (Landis 1992). Though growth also increases a city’s expenditure for services, Landis’ California study (1992) showed that the increase in tax revenue outpaced increasing expenditures by a small margin. Finally, Fischel (1991) argues that the sprawl that is associated with uncontrolled growth is bad for business. In addition to the forgone benefits of agglomeration economies, sprawl decreases the face-to-face contact and close proximity of businesses that Jane Jacobs, Adam Jaffe, and others maintain is important to a healthy functioning economy.

4. growth destroys quality of life

Those in favor of growth limits further argue that growth does not improve quality of life, but destroys it. Pointing to the increasing air and water pollution, increasing traffic congestion, changing town character, declining sense of community, damaged visual quality, and loss of green space that result from increasing populations, many favor growth limits in order to preserve their communities as they know them.

While the balance of research indicates that growth limits do in most cases raise housing costs and produce exclusionary housing conditions, their effects on a city's fiscal health and on urban sprawl are more debatable. And while few contend that growth impacts a community's quality of life, views on the desirability of these changes differ considerably. Choosing an appropriate growth management strategy, then, is no simple task, and the appropriateness of particular approaches to local conditions must be carefully considered. The following section outlines some of the issues associated with choosing a growth management strategy.

2.3.5 To Grow or Not to Grow?

While there is no clear-cut answer to the question of whether to promote growth, to impose growth limits, or to take a laissez-faire approach, one certainty exists in growth management: every approach to growth management involves trade-offs. Downs (1992, 421), who supports growth limits, writes, "The rise in housing costs through local regulations is largely an accidental result of the pursuit of such important goals as paying for streets and infrastructures through impact fees, or protecting wetlands and endangered species, or preserving historically important structures or areas. It would certainly be unwise to eliminate such regulations solely on the grounds that they adversely affect housing costs." The preferred approach, then, depends on the goals and priorities of a particular community, the way that community values the trade-offs associated with each growth management strategy, and the steps it is willing to make to remedy to the greatest extent possible the negative impacts of the preferred strategy.

One difficulty in choosing a local growth management strategy is that stakeholders often have conflicting interests. For example, local and regional governments often have conflicting agendas and perspectives on appropriate and responsible growth management. What is perceived as sprawl to a community might be viewed as concentrated settlement in the context of rapid regional growth. Furthermore, because local level growth controls often serve to disperse population to other, possibly

less appropriate areas, their implementation can compromise the social, economic, and environmental health of the region, or even the globe. Thus, "we should ask whether good, old-fashioned *local* land use planning and regulation in the pursuit of the local public interest contribute to or complicate the resolution of national and global environmental concerns" (Chinitz 1990, 6). Likewise, the impacts that regional growth management strategies will have on social, economic, and environmental conditions in local communities must be considered. With effective communication, local and regional stakeholders might find they have common goals in the pursuit of effective growth management.

Conflicting interests within a community can be equally troublesome. Because the trade-offs associated with growth management affect different populations differently within a community, the choice of a particular growth management strategy can reflect a bias toward particular segments of the population. For example, a growth promotion approach may satisfy business owners, while ignoring the needs of local farmers. Similarly, a growth limiting approach may appeal to wealthy retirees who prefer a small community, while lower income long-time residents may have to leave as a result of increasing housing costs. Thus, in developing a growth management strategy that garners the support of the entire community, the needs and priorities of all local residents must be considered and incorporated into the policy development process to the greatest extent possible.

Another difficulty in choosing a growth management strategy is the difficulty in assessing the effects and successes of different approaches. First, with such conflicting evidence on the impacts of growth limits, it appears that housing affordability, quality of life, and conditions of exclusivity in a city are determined by more factors than local growth control legislation alone. Landis (1992) and Godschalk (1992) argue that the larger context, including regional, state, and national level interest rates, job growth, and housing supply, has more impact than local development controls on housing affordability, patterns of development, and other growth related conditions. Furthermore, local development tools (such as zoning, annexation, and extension or restriction of services) tend to have a

greater impact on development and housing markets than formal controls, yet the effects of regional or national conditions and local development control measures are considerably more difficult to assess than local growth control measures. Landis (1992) further argues that those cities that are likely to implement growth management strategies are cities that already have traditions of good government, good city management and planning, and high levels of citizen involvement. Thus, the nature of a city's governance may paint an unrealistically rosy picture of the effects of growth control implementation.

Given that the effects of growth limits depend largely on the environment in which they are implemented, the question should not be whether to *limit* growth, but how to *manage* growth in a way that best suits local conditions. In choosing the most appropriate and effective local growth management policy, the goals of local communities and the needs and sensitivities of the broader regions within which growth is occurring must be identified and carefully considered. The public must be incorporated into the process of policy development, systems must be developed to encourage communication and cooperation between local level planning and regional or state level planning, and measures must be taken to address and alleviate the negative consequences of the chosen growth management strategy.

2.4 GROWTH MANAGEMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Though the literature on growth management is extensive, relatively little work has focused on growth management in rural communities. This section reviews the growth trends in rural North America, the problems associated with rapid rural growth, and the challenges of small town growth management.

2.4.1 Defining 'Rural' and 'Small Town'

While a *small* town is defined by its size, a *rural* town is defined also by its density of settlement and its social and economic characteristics. A small town (described by Daniels et al [1995] as a town of up to 10,000 residents) might exist within a metropolitan area, while a rural town is defined primarily by the quality of being *nonmetropolitan*. For the most part, however, small towns *are* rural, and rural towns *are* small, and the terms are often used interchangeably in the literature. In this paper, the term 'small town' refers to towns in rural areas.

Though no formula exists for determining the ruralness of a community, rural towns are generally defined by such characteristics as size, density of settlement, industry, land use, and demographics.

Size and Density of Settlement

While no consensus has been reached on what constitutes a rural town, these communities are generally smaller and farther apart than cities. David Brower (cited in King and Harris 1989, 4) defines a rural community simply as one with a population between 500 to 20,000 people, while others incorporate density of settlement into their definitions. Lapping et al (1989, 4), for example, define a rural community as a nonurbanized area with a population of no more than 2,500 people, or a county with no city greater than 50,000 people. Similarly, King and Harris (1989, 183) define a rural town to be one of 50 to 100 square miles with a population less than 10,000 people, or comprising of villages of no more than 2,500 people.

Industry and Land Use

Lapping et al (1989) divide rural land use into three categories: *open lands* are remotely situated with few people and little economic activity (such as wetlands, deserts, and mountainous areas); *production lands* are comprised of a variety of economic activities and population sizes, but are

generally dependent on natural resource industries and manufacturing (towns with agricultural, forestry, or fishing based economies); *settlement lands* are small cities, towns, and urban fringe areas, with primary employment in industries that serve the hinterlands. While rural areas have traditionally been involved primarily in resource industries, many have growing government, tourism, and service sectors, and many are developing as retirement or bedroom communities.

Demographic Characteristics

Demographic studies show that in comparison to urban areas, rural communities have proportionately more males, more people over the age of 55, fewer college and high school graduates, higher rates of unemployment and poverty, lower median family incomes, more people living in substandard housing, and less access to amenities and services (Lapping et al 1989; Daniels et al 1995).

Despite these common characteristics, many small towns continue to defy their reputations as traditional and economically stagnant. Some rural communities are wealthy, some are poor; some are growing rapidly, some are experiencing serious economic and population decline; some are retirement communities, some have large populations of young people. Similarly, while rural communities are reputed to be ethnically homogeneous, rural communities make up some of the most and the least ethnically diverse communities in America (Daniels et al 1995). Furthermore, though the residents of small towns are generally thought to be politically conservative and resistant to change, Lapping et al (1989, 4) note that rural communities have been "the wellspring of many indigenous radical movements, such as Populism, Progressivism, and the Industrial Workers of the World."

Given the difficulty of determining what is rural, then, perhaps the most important consideration is the self-perceived identity of the community.

2.4.2 Growth Trends and Planning in Rural North America

Rural communities have a history of growth and planning quite different from that of urban areas. While urban areas have continued to grow since the first US census was conducted in 1790, small towns have experienced an overall decline in populations. Yet, planning theory and practice have focused on urban areas, and little information exists about the growth and planning experiences of rural communities. This section reviews the history of growth and planning in rural North America.⁴

Pre-1970s

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the location and growth of North American towns was determined primarily through the dominant system of laissez-faire market economics. During this time, small towns developed primarily as outposts on the frontier and as service and retail centers for agricultural areas (Daniels et al 1995). By the early 20th century, with high rates of European immigration and expansion in the agricultural sector, small towns were booming. After World War II, however, the development of highways and telecommunications linked small towns with the nation, and their national significance waned in comparison to urban areas. As Daniels et al (1995, xii) write, "This era of mass society -- mass production, marketing, and communications -- found small towns competing for a limited market. Farm numbers dwindled as farm size increased, and the countryside carried the stigma of being hick." Thus began the mass migration out of rural communities and into urban areas that continues today.

Until the early 1950s, government sponsored planning had been limited to urban areas. In 1954, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development recognized the need for small town planning and passed the Housing Act of 1954. Though the Act was intended to fund small towns to undertake studies and projects in planning, most merely resulted in the generation of housing and population

⁴ Again, because the growth management literature focuses heavily on the United States, this section refers primarily to rural America.

data; the concept of small town planning did not take hold, and studies and reports were generally shelved (Daniels et al 1995). The concept of small town planning was not revisited until the 1970s.

The 1970s

The 1970s saw a notable shift in the rural-urban migration trend. With improved transportation and communication networks, increasing social and cultural diversity, and the perception of a better quality of life in rural communities, rural populations increased at a faster rate than urban populations for the first time in 150 years (Daniels et al 1995; Lapping et al 1989). Accompanied by growth in manufacturing, the development of service, trade, and recreation industries, and improved public services in rural areas, the “urban flight” of the 1970s resulted in a net migration of about four million people to rural areas (Lapping et al 1989, 2).

Rapid growth and development in small towns soon began to destroy the very qualities that had attracted growth to these communities. With increasing pollution and traffic congestion, loss of open space, changing town character, and rising public service and housing costs, the need for small town planning soon became apparent. By the time growth management strategies were being developed in small towns, however, many small communities had already suffered irreparable damage (Daniels et al 1995).

The 1980s - Present

With the problems in rural economies in the 1980s, the migration trend shifted once again. The farm crisis and the recession of the early 1980s, the increasing influence of competing world markets in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, the declining importance of resource industries, and the expanding markets of national discount chains (such as Wal-Mart) created economic strife in small towns that incited an exodus to the city that continues today. By 1987, the United States had a farm population of five million, down from 24.3 million in 1945, and the lowest since 1850 (Lapping et al

1989, 1, 7-8). Today, only a minority of rural dwellers is employed in traditional rural industries (such as farming, forestry, mining, and fishing), and over four-fifths of rural employment is in the government, trade, manufacturing, and service sectors (Daniels et al 1995, ix). While some small towns have reversed the outmigration trend by transforming into tourist towns or bedroom communities, most are still dependent on the declining resource industries, vulnerable to exogenous forces, and struggling to survive.

By the 1980s, with the economic and social changes in rural communities, the need for better planning was recognized. Naturally, the focus of small town planning during this time was economic development; the goal was to attract business investment, increase employment, raise local incomes, and enhance the local tax base.

2.4.3 Rapid Growth in Small Towns

In many communities, the economic development strategies of the 1980s were able to attract growth, and in others, the growth of the 1970s never abated. These towns now find themselves facing a new set of challenges associated with rapid growth.

The Consequences of Rapid Rural Growth

While people are often attracted to small towns for their clean air and water, abundance of open space, strong sense of community, affordable housing, and scenic quality, unmanaged growth can compromise these rural attributes and can contribute to the development of an exclusionary land market and the destabilization of the local economy.

Increasing housing costs is one of the primary consequences of rapid rural growth. First, as growth spreads, servicing problems are created. Greater numbers of people strain existing services, and newcomers often demand the level and quality of services they received in urban areas. Often, local governments cannot keep up with the increasing demand, and the costs of servicing sprawling

settlements and upgrading existing services are covered by increasing property taxes (Lapping et al 1989).

Furthermore, economic and population growth distorts local real estate markets. As demand for residential, commercial, and industrial land intensifies, land becomes "scarce," raising land values and attracting urban speculators seeking quick profits. Thus, in many cases, the character and appearance of a community is radically altered, and "particularly in recreation areas, long-term inhabitants and their offspring are often priced out of the land market" (Lapping et al 1989, 16).

This is particularly problematic for those members of the community who are dependent on agricultural or forestry land for their livelihood. As Lapping et al (1989, 16) note, as land prices rise, "land is revalued above its worth as farmland or forestland, and farmers and forest owners may have difficulty in paying property taxes, expanding operations, or resisting lucrative offers to sell or convert land to other uses." During the urban flight of the 1970s, the real value of rural land for recreation (excluding the effects of inflation) grew about 700 percent, while the real value of timberland grew 500 percent, and costs for farmland and timberland were often higher than the income the land could generate in farm or forest uses (Lapping et al 1989, 16).

Rising land prices in rural areas can also contribute to the destabilization of the local economy. Often, the cost of living in a rural community is affordable only to those with income sources outside of the community or to those working for externally-owned companies. This destabilizes the local economy as the community becomes more dependent on external industries and more vulnerable to national and international fluctuations in the market. In addition, a large portion of property in rural areas may be purchased by absentee owners for second homes, for rental property, or as an investment hedge against inflation. Thus, "as absentee ownership proliferates, the future of a community increasingly resides in the hands of those with little connection or concern of the locale" (Lapping et al 1989, 16).

Finally, rapid rural growth may lead to social discord. While growth does not necessarily diminish sense of community and social harmony, this is often the result. First, merely living among greater numbers of people can increase feelings of social alienation and threaten a community's sense of safety. Furthermore, as was common in the rapid rural growth of the 1970s, the arrival of newcomers can create clashes of ideas and values. As Lapping et al (1989) write, "Newcomers...represent change, which is often highly disruptive to the social, cultural, and economic status quo. They tend to strain social institutions with sheer numbers; their urban backgrounds and values may make them appear strange and even offensive; they generally have little affinity with a community's past; and they may earn a living in a newly located industry. Moreover, they may view land not as a productive resource, but as a commodity to be consumed for residential and recreational uses."

Despite the problems associated with rapid growth in small towns, many rural communities are attracted to the economic and social benefits of growth. Some communities wish to stop or slow the rate of growth altogether, and still others have a population divided in their opinions on growth. In most rapidly growing communities, however, growth will occur whether community members support it or not. Thus, in addressing rapid growth in small towns, the question is not whether to allow growth, but how best to manage it.

Small Town Growth Management

Because the literature on small town growth management is limited, rural communities have little guidance in developing and implementing growth management policy. Thus, it is necessary to look at the experiences of other communities (see Part II), to analyze the weaknesses in the literature, and to consider the problems associated with the current approaches to rural growth management. Though speakers at the Small Town and Rural section of the American Planning Association's 1985 International Planning Conference called for more research directed toward rural planning, much of the

recent literature serves primarily to apply urban planning strategies and techniques to small towns. Furthermore, to the extent that rural planning is addressed, it is often considered only in the context of state level growth management (King and Harris 1989; Daniels et al 1995). Finally, King and Harris (1989) note that rural growth management literature generally neglects to address such issues as citizen participation, the environment, and power relations in a community.

According to Cohen (quoted in King and Harris 1989, 182), the neglect of rural planning is due to the "failure on the part of planners to recognize small towns as small towns, rather than little cities." This tendency often leads to ineffective planning in rural communities. Because small towns differ from large cities in size, economic base, attitude, and priorities, growth management strategies are perceived differently in small towns and have quite different impacts on social and economic conditions. For example, the long range plans often implemented in urban areas, while important in the overall planning scheme, do not address the immediate and often urgent concerns of one or two industry towns in economic decline. Moreover, the use of growth controls may encounter opposition from rural land owners who feel that their individual rights are being threatened (Lapping et al 1989).

Even if growth management policies are designed with the particular characteristics of rural communities in mind, they are not always beneficial to the entire community. In a study looking at rural growth management, Dubbink (cited in King and Harris 1989) concludes that growth management policies in small towns are most often initiated by newcomers who want to close the door to future growth, and that they don't necessarily reflect the desires of the entire community. Similarly, King and Harris (1989, 182, quoting Niebanck) argue that growth management in rural communities is merely a strategy for "preserving privilege in, typically, an 'ex-urban locality nested in an attractive physical setting newly populated by members of the technical, professional and bureaucratic elite.'"

Despite the difficulties associated with managing growth in rural communities, the development and implementation of growth management policies that are sensitive to the attitudes and values of

local residents is necessary if the social, economic, and environmental destruction of these communities is to be avoided.

Constraints and Opportunities for Small Town Growth Management

Rural communities are changing. Some are growing rapidly, some are struggling to survive, and some are experiencing economic and social transformations. The challenge for planners is to help guide communities in managing this change in such a way that ensures the long-term social, economic, and environmental well-being of the community. In doing so, planners must consider the opportunities and constraints that small towns face in the pursuit of growth management.

The primary constraint on growth management in small towns is limited financial and human resources. With limited resources, not only is growth difficult to support (e.g. providing increased services), but policy development is difficult to manage (Daniels et al 1995). Furthermore, in many small communities, growth is a fairly recent issue, and many of these communities have little experience addressing the challenges of growth management. Finally, in rapidly growing small towns, the priorities of the newcomers may be quite different than those of the long time residents, and accommodating both is often a difficult task.

Despite these challenges, the opportunities for effective growth management in small towns are numerous. First, a study of small town planning in New York shows policy makers in rural communities to be genuinely interested in the well-being of community members and aware of community needs (King and Harris 1989). The study further shows small town councils and planning boards to be responsive to the desires of local residents to preserve the community's environmental health and quality of life in the face of economic growth. Moreover, residents of small communities have greater access to local government than urban dwellers. Local officials are often known personally by local residents and are visible in the community, and issues are commonly addressed in informal, public settings such as town council meetings (Daniels et al 1995). Despite a lack of

resources and experience in addressing growth management issues, “the picture that emerges is one of a dedicated group of individuals knowledgeable about their environment, responsible, and increasingly confident in exercising the power available to them” (King and Harris 1989, 189).

2.5 CONCLUSION

Ultimately, the negative consequences of unmanaged growth (such as servicing difficulties, affordability problems, and destruction of the natural environment) will serve to limit growth in rural communities. If rapid growth is not addressed through the development of effective and sensitive growth management policy, however, growth will likely not slow before social, economic, and environmental conditions are irreparably damaged.

Given the wide diversities that exist between and among rural communities, the development of a generally applicable rural growth management model is difficult to imagine. For rural growth management planning to be effective, then, the particular histories, identities, and economic and social characteristics of communities must be understood; the influences of the regional context must be evaluated; the values, aspirations, and priorities of local residents must be identified and incorporated into the planning process; the trade-offs associated with the implementation of growth management policy must be considered; and the negative consequences of any strategy must be acknowledged and addressed to the greatest extent possible.

Chapter Three Growth Management and Social Sustainability

"Ebenezer Howard and Frank Lloyd Wright painted the very different visions of Garden Cities and Broadacre...Andres Duany and Le Corbusier gave us traditional neighborhoods and the radiant city... Yet regardless of scale, theirs were all visions of community, a place where meaningful life happens" (Neuman 1991, 346).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the environmental movement of the 1970s, the notion of sustainability has gained momentum as an alternative to the market driven approach to development. Defined by the Brundtland Commission as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43), sustainable development provides an integrated and intergenerational approach to the management of the economy, the environment, and society. While sustainability theory has primarily addressed environmental and economic concerns, the importance of achieving a sustainable society -- one that is characterized by social justice, equity, and a high quality of life -- is increasingly recognized in the literature.

In order to achieve a sustainable society, policy must be designed in a way that supports the integrated, preservationist, and intergenerational tenets of the sustainability ethos. According to (Allanson et al 1995, 1809), the key to effective sustainability is policy development that focuses on the "possible pathways of deliberate change and improvement" which will allow communities "to withstand or adapt to endogenous or exogenous change indefinitely while answering the needs of the present population."

Some argue that the implementation of policy within the existing social, economic, and political structures is merely fine-tuning an unsustainable system, and that such an approach actually undermines efforts to induce the real structural changes that are necessary to achieve sustainability. While we do need to restructure our social and economic systems and our relationship with the

environment, however, this does not justify allowing conditions to worsen in the meantime. Rather than a replacement for a true path to sustainability, then, sustainability-oriented policy can raise awareness about sustainability issues and improve our behaviors while we continue to work toward the fundamental changes that are necessary to the pursuit of sustainability.

Growth management is one area of policy development that is closely related to sustainability, and many authors, including Roseland, Owens, Pinfield, the Fraser Basin Management Program, and the British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, emphasize the need for more sustainable growth management policy. Furthermore, because social issues are vitally important to sustainability, and because many of the issues associated with growth are essentially social sustainability issues, examining rural growth management within a social sustainability framework is crucial to the overall sustainability effort. First, this approach necessitates the consideration and integration of economic and environmental issues. Second, it inherently provides a long-term perspective. Finally, a social sustainability framework incorporates such difficult to measure but fundamentally important issues as equity, social capital, and quality of life.

In an effort to build a framework for analyzing rural growth management, this chapter outlines the tenets of sustainability and social sustainability, examines the nature of the linkages between growth management and social sustainability, and considers strategies for operationalizing a more sustainable policy approach to growth management (emphasizing the roles of regional governance, public participation, and land use policy).

3.2 WHAT IS SUSTAINABILITY?

Emerging out of the environmental movement of the 1970s,⁵ sustainability theory (like Marxism and other socialist-derived ideologies) posed a challenge to the neoclassical economics approach to

⁵ Though the notion of sustainable development is associated with the environmental movement of the 1970s, the roots of sustainability theory can actually be traced back to Native and Greek mythology (Dorcey, 1991b). Because the sustainability ethos gained considerable momentum with the popularization of environmental

growth and development that had dominated western thought since the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. While sustainability theory initially focused on the importance of preserving the natural environment for future generations, the importance of considering economic and social well-being in sustainable development was soon recognized, and the integration of these components into development theory was a major theme of the first Habitat Conference in Vancouver (1976), the Brundtland Report (1987), the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) and the UN City Summit in Istanbul (1996).

The most widely quoted definition of sustainability is that put forth by the Brundtland Commission: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43). While useful in articulating the fundamental intergenerational basis of sustainability theory, this definition is problematically broad and vague. As Rees (1991, 456) writes, "This innocuously skeletal definition gave something to everyone, and academe, governments, and non-governmental organisations have been striving ever since to flesh it out, each in its own image." As a result, the term 'sustainability' has been appropriated (and often misused) by a wide variety of interests (from neoclassical economists to deep ecologists), and numerous variations of the Brundtland Commission's definition have emerged.

A number of more recent writings (by William Rees, The British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, Peter Bartelmus, and others) have tried to construct more comprehensive definitions that capture the breadth of sustainability and its economic, environmental, and social components. Dorsey (1991b, 5) identifies the minimal elements of sustainability as:

- maintaining ecological integrity and diversity
- meeting of basic human needs
- keeping options open for future generations

thought, however, its inception is commonly dated to the first Earth Day in 1970.

- reducing injustice
- increasing self-determination

Similarly, in developing a strategy for sustainability in British Columbia, the British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1993a, 19) has identified seven principles intended to capture the economic, environmental, and social components of sustainability. These principles are:

- limit our impact on the living world to stay within its carrying capacity
- preserve and protect the environment
- hold to a minimum the depletion of non-renewable resources
- promote long-term economic development that increases the benefits from a given stock of resources without drawing down on our stocks of environmental assets
- meet basic needs and aim for a fair distribution of the benefits and the costs of resource use and environmental protection
- provide a system of decision-making and governance that is designed to address sustainability
- promote values and actions that support sustainability

While numerous sets of sustainability principles have been adopted by agencies and academics concerned with sustainability issues, the notion of sustainable development has firmly entrenched non-monetary factors of development and long-term stability into the development literature, and sustainability literature increasingly emphasizes the environment, the economy, and society as equal components of sustainability. These three components are described below:

Environmental sustainability is the protection of the natural environment "...in such a condition and to such a degree that environmental capacities (the ability of the environment to perform its various functions) are maintained over time" (Jacobs 1993, 79-80). The goal of environmental

sustainability is to maintain a stock of natural capital large enough to support the energy and matter needs of humankind.

Economic sustainability can be viewed in two distinct but inseparable ways: in terms of the linkages between the economy and the ecosphere, or in terms of the long-term durability and resilience of the economy in and of itself. The economy is unsustainable if we deplete our stocks of natural capital. Yet, even if the economy operates in a way that does not exceed environmental limits, its long-term ability to provide employment and ensure the well-being of society must be ensured if it is to be sustainable. This requires the ability to resist boom and bust and the transformational capacity to accommodate changing environmental, economic, and social conditions.

Social sustainability relates to issues of distribution of wealth, education, health, crime, housing, sense of community, personal fulfilment, overall quality of life, and other indices of social well-being. While social sustainability can be defined as the *non-decline* of these indices (Bartelmus 1994), the tenets of sustainability also require that social conditions be maintained at a level that supports the physical, emotional, and mental health of individuals and enables them “to lead lives of dignity and fulfilment” (Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995, 6).

3.3 SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

The importance of social issues to sustainability has been recognized since the concept of sustainable development emerged in the 1970s. As early as 1972, Environment and Development Action in the Third World (ENDA) was established to provide environmental and development education with a view toward empowerment of local peoples and elimination of poverty. In 1974, *Limits to Poverty* was published by the Bariloche Foundation calling for growth and equity in the Third World. Despite this early attention to social well-being, however, the recessions of the 1980s inspired a new self-interest that overshadowed broader social concerns, and few writings addressed social issues during this time (Boothroyd 1991; Pinfield 1994). Since the early 1990s, however, social issues

have again gained attention in the sustainability arena and have been explicitly addressed at landmark events such as the 1992 Earth Summit and the 1996 City Summit.

Although the social component of sustainability is often neglected in the sustainability literature, some authors, such as Pinfield (1994) and Levett (1996) and Jacobs (1996) argue that social issues are, in fact, at the heart of sustainability. Although it can be argued that economic and environmental sustainability can be achieved without regard for social well-being (Boothroyd [1991] gives the examples of Caribbean slave plantations) the potential for such systems to continue indefinitely can be questioned, and economists and environmentalists alike argue the inherent benefits of a well society. Moreover, because social sustainability relies on economic and environmental health, social sustainability indicators can serve as a yard stick for the assessment and monitoring of sustainability in general. Thus, despite the difficulty of measuring such complex and subjective issues as quality of life and social justice, social sustainability must be incorporated into policy development and analyses if sustainability is to be achieved.

What characterizes social sustainability is its long-term and integrated approach to the issue of social well-being. In addition to meeting basic needs and improving quality of life, the social sustainability ethos advocates improving equity and social justice, building self-reliance and social capital, and incorporating economic and environmental issues into social policy.

3.3.1 The Equity Component

Pinfield (1994), Jacobs (1996), and Boothroyd (1991) argue that equity, defined as the fair distribution of the costs and benefits of change within society, is fundamental to the notion of social sustainability. Even the Brundtland Commission's "innocuously skeletal" (Rees 1991, 456) definition of sustainable development addressed the equity issue by calling for development that "(meets) the basic needs of all and (extends) to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 44). Pinfield (1994, 163) more

specifically emphasizes that a socially sustainable society is a socially just society and that social justice is achieved primarily through “fairness” in the productive participation of individuals in the economic system -- that is, the equal opportunity to work for all individuals, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status. Equity also refers to fairness in the opportunity for individuals to influence the processes of change in society; in a society in which decisions are made strictly by an elite group, or by interests outside of the community, the costs and benefits of that change will not likely be distributed equally among community members.

Despite the ethical and practical advantages of a socially sustainable society, however, the pursuit of equity in a market-oriented society (as in most societies) is inherently problematic. As Pinfield (1994, 6) notes, the road to a more equitable society “necessarily involves redistributing resources, including wealth, and therefore immediately becomes a contentious political and economic issue.” Still, a society that is not defined by the fair and equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of change is by definition socially unjust and unsustainable, and the issue of equity must be addressed if economic, environmental, and social policy is to contribute to the sustainability effort.

3.3.2 The Social Capital Component

Another fundamental component of sustainability is the development and maintenance of a healthy stock of social capital, and authors such as Ostrum, Roseland, Putnam, and Flora emphasize the importance of social capital to a community’s well-being. Roseland ([in press] citing Ostrum) notes that capital is created through the process of spending time and effort in transformation and transaction activities. Thus, while *physical* capital is formed through the construction of material resources that can be used in production, and *human* capital is formed through training, education, and experience, *social* capital derives from “the shared knowledge, understandings, and patterns of interactions that a group of people bring to any productive activity” (Roseland [in press] 5). Social capital refers to community-based organizations, structures, and social relations, and is reflected in

strengthened social support networks, improved inter-personal relations, and increased productive potential within communities (Putnam et al 1993). Unlike physical capital, social capital is not limited by material supply. Rather, because social capital is built on the foundations of trust, reciprocity, and mutual support, its expression tends to prompt reciprocal responses that, then, contribute to social cohesion (Putnam et al 1993; Roseland [in press]). Conversely, unused social capital tends to deteriorate at a rapid rate; thus, the development and maintenance of social capital requires the on-going use of resources.

Social capital contributes to social sustainability at both the community level and the individual level. First, the maintenance of a healthy stock of social capital fosters community self-reliance, and self-reliance is one of the core principles of sustainability. While the failure of social support systems fosters reliance on external services and resources, community-based support systems enable communities to reduce their dependence on external economies and provide a buffer against the social impacts of variable economic and environmental conditions (Wimberley 1993). Second, social capital plays an important role in satisfying the social needs of individuals within communities. Pinfield (1994, 163) argues that the philosophical basis of social justice is that “the individual is essentially a social being and through our interactions with others in society we actualise our true being.” Moreover, the social support networks that derive from community building activities can provide such basic needs as food, shelter and essential services, and contribute to the development of community environments free from family violence, racial tensions, and crime (Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995).

3.3.3 Holism and Integration

Fundamental to the notion of sustainability is the recognition of the inherent linkages between the environment, the economy, and society. By definition, then, the concept of social sustainability necessarily incorporates economic and environmental concerns.

The relationship between the economy and society is straightforward and indubitable. Because economic structures determine the availability of jobs and the distribution of wealth in a society, the characteristics of the economy define the organization of social classes and the participation of individuals in the economic system. Furthermore, since social policy is dictated primarily by economic structures, the market largely determines the institutional mechanisms and arrangements that define social well-being.

The environment is similarly implicit within the notion of social sustainability. First, people whose basic needs are not met often must engage in activities that deplete the environment in order to satisfy their immediate needs. Second, control and distribution of natural resources are clearly environmental issues; depletion of natural capital will shrink the pie for everyone, but in an economy with an inequitable distribution of costs and benefits, dwindling resource supplies will be felt more significantly by some than others.

“Such is the interconnectedness of environmental, economic, and social issues that it is more difficult to deal with them separately than in an integrated and organic whole” (Pinfield 1994, 163). Thus, though this analysis centers on social sustainability, the economy and the environment are implicit in any study of sustainability.

3.3.4 Achieving Social Sustainability

The search for the most effective and appropriate approach to improving the long-term prospects for environmental, economic, and social health has inspired much debate. Though trickle-down has generally been proven not to work, neoclassicists argue that economic growth will maintain the current distribution of wealth while enlarging the pie for all of society. Others, such as Schumacher and Boothroyd, argue that the path to a sustainable society requires a restructuring of the economic system in such a way that will redistribute access to goods and services and will value the non-market aspects of social well-being.

By its very nature, however, sustainability challenges the extreme free market approach, and most authors on the subject agree that some level of government intervention is necessary to ensure the preservation of natural and social capital. Jacobs (quoted in Levett 1996, 138) argues that governments, politics, and political institutions play an indispensable role in sustainability planning and that the pursuit of social sustainability requires "deliberate and specific interventions by government." Rees (1994, 2) notes that while sustainable development "is sometimes interpreted entirely in terms of personal sacrifice and economic contraction," effective sustainability-oriented policy can expand the range of employment opportunities, preserve options for present and future generations, promote the creation of social capital, and produce a more equitable and just society. And because social capital tends to build on itself, policies that support and foster social well-being also enhance the durability of a community's sustainable social order. The role of policy in the pursuit of socially sustainable growth management will be addressed in section 3.5 of this paper.

3.4 LINKING GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

While much has been written about the links between growth management and sustainability, the social component of sustainability has largely been ignored in the growth management literature. Yet many of the complex issues at the heart of the growth management debate are fundamentally issues of social sustainability; housing affordability, work force participation, control of resources, sense of community, urban sprawl, and quality of life are in essence issues of equity, social capital, and quality of life. Thus, an assessment of social sustainability is not only appropriate in an analysis of growth management policy, but is at the core of sustainable growth management. This section addresses the nature of the relationship between growth management and social sustainability, and outlines a framework for analysis of rural growth management based on the questions of equity, social capital, and quality of life.

3.4.1 Growth Management and Equity

Equity is the fair distribution of costs and benefits within society. Because equity is fundamental to the notion of social sustainability, growth management policy that promotes social sustainability must ensure the equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of change and development in a community.

Patterns of growth, and growth management policies, quite often impact the number of jobs in a community, the affordability of housing, local control of resources, and the cost and availability of local services, facilities, and amenities. Yet, since growth management strategies generally do not consider or promote the *redistribution* of costs and benefits in a community, the results are oftentimes inequitable. Growth management policies that limit growth, for example, tend to produce exclusionary (and therefore, inequitable) housing conditions. Policies that lead to primarily residential development result in communities in which a high proportion of residents are denied access to local employment opportunities. In short, growth management strategies have implications for social justice if the result is that some portion of the population is denied access to work opportunities, income, housing, and/or goods and services.

Equity also refers to the equal opportunity to participate in and influence the processes that shape communities. Because the costs and benefits of growth are highly subjective (some might consider loss of open space to be a significant cost, while others might assign a very low value to open space), processes that do not promote the participation of *all* those affected by growth lead to policies that result in social inequity. Moreover, though different interests within the community may have very different goals and preferences, a society which values the preferences of some over those of others is not an equitable society. Thus, policy development processes that involve and value all interests equally are essential to the creation of socially sustainable growth management strategies.

While growth management cannot completely alleviate the inequities inherent within a free market economic system, effective policy can serve to balance economic and residential growth,

improve equitable access to employment, housing, and amenities, and promote development that meets the needs of all those within a community to the greatest extent possible.

3.4.2 Growth Management and Social Capital

Social capital derives from and contributes to the development of social networks, community solidarity, a strong community identity, and quality social interactions. Without social capital to draw upon, a community is more vulnerable to external market conditions and its residents find less satisfaction within the community.

The way a community grows and develops has significant implications for the development and preservation of social capital. For example, sprawling development that encourages car use and employment conditions that require high rates of commuting prevent face-to-face interactions and give people less time for participation in community-building activities and political processes. Moreover, in a community which becomes prohibitively expensive, or in which residents' basic needs are not met, people are forced to spend more time working or to relocate to other communities. Finally, development that reduces local control of resources diminishes the ability of local residents to determine the direction of change in their communities, often resulting in a low level of satisfaction with the identity and character of the community. These conditions increase feelings of social alienation, discourage a sense of commitment to a community, and inhibit the development of social support networks during the times in which they are most needed. Also, because family networks are particularly important in meeting basic needs and providing social support, growth conditions that prevent multiple generations from staying in a community are particularly threatening to community sustainability.

Conversely, compact communities minimize commuting, promote social interaction and the development of social networks, and encourage participation in community-building activities and public participation processes. Communities that remain affordable and continue to provide local

employment opportunities in the face of changing economic conditions are able to retain a stable and long-term population, preserve community identity, and allow social support networks to be maintained. In these ways, a community with a strong sense of community -- that is, a community in which people are "committed to the character and identity of the place where they live" (Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995, 6) -- fosters mutual support and encourages participation in local politics and planning, thereby enhancing long-term self-reliance and self-determination.

Through discouraging sprawl, protecting local control of resources, promoting local employment opportunities, ensuring affordability, and providing opportunities for public participation, growth management policy can and should contribute to the development of social capital and community self-reliance.

3.4.3 Growth Management and Quality of Life

The term 'quality of life' has been used to describe a wide range of community conditions, from air and water quality to the ability of individuals to spend money. Within a social sustainability framework, 'quality of life' is similarly broad, concerning social conditions ranging from such services such as waste disposal, health care, and police protection to such immeasurables as happiness and personal satisfaction. For the purposes of this analysis, 'quality of life' refers to the quality of the *amenities* a community has to offer that attract people to a community, encourage people to stay, and contribute to their satisfaction with the community. These amenities include recreation facilities, entertainment opportunities, natural beauty, a low crime rate, affordable housing, and other features that enhance the quality of a person's experience in a community. Because quality of life is highly subjective, however, it cannot be measured through the application of objectively defined indicators. Rather, what constitutes a high quality of life depends on what individual communities define as amenities, the values they place on these amenities, and their levels of satisfaction with the amenities in the communities in which they live.

Growth and growth management can have a significant impact on a community's amenities. The way in which growth is managed in a community can impact the number of shops and entertainment opportunities, the level of services and facilities, the access to open space, the quality of the natural environment, and the character and identity of the community.

Whether these impacts are perceived positively or negatively, however, depends on the values held by the community, and satisfaction with community quality of life is fundamental to social sustainability. A socially and economically viable community requires a population of individuals committed to their community, and a community with a low quality of life will be unable to maintain such a population. A community which cannot maintain a population (especially one which cannot maintain its population over generations) is inherently unsustainable. Moreover, the instability associated with a dissatisfied population interferes with a community's ability to build and maintain social capital and inhibits the development of a stable and self-reliant economy, qualities that are essential to community sustainability.

Because satisfaction with quality of life is highly subjective, however, the role of public participation in decision-making must again be emphasized; without the participation of all interests in the identification of community priorities, the assessment of trade-offs, and the design and implementation of growth management policy, the effects of change on a community's quality of life will likely be unsatisfactory to the local residents.⁶

Growth management legislation that fosters social sustainability, then, must involve the public in the identification of community priorities and values. Further, it must aim to build on the amenities necessary to maintain a population that is satisfied with community quality of life and committed to community well-being.

⁶ While community satisfaction is essential to social sustainability, the preferences of community members will not always lead to sustainable policy choices; a community that does not value the natural environment, for example, does not negate the importance of environmental preservation to the pursuit of sustainability. This dilemma highlights the need for growth management processes and policies that incorporate a regional perspective and balance a community's preferences with larger sustainability priorities. The role of regional governance in sustainable growth management will be addressed in section 3.5.1.

3.4.4 The Integration of Equity, Social Capital, and Quality of Life

Equity, social capital, and quality of life are clearly interdependent and inseparable components of social sustainability. For example, equity issues (such as equitable access to local employment) clearly influence the development of social capital. In addition to the well-known environmental consequences of a car-centred society, the prevalence of commuting in some communities impacts social capital as commuters spend less time in the community and have less time to participate in community activities and decision-making processes. Furthermore, inequitable access to community services and facilities limits social interactions and inhibits the development of social networks that often results from participation in community activities.

Equity is similarly linked to issues of quality of life. Even if a community has a high level of services, facilities, and entertainment and recreation opportunities, a community will not be sustainable if only some residents are able to enjoy them. Furthermore, because those within a community will have different standards and different levels of satisfaction, all residents' interests cannot be satisfied if the preferences of some are valued over the preferences of others.

Social capital and quality of life are also linked. First, social support networks and a strong sense of community can be significant contributors to individuals' satisfaction with their communities. Likewise, many of the amenities (such as recreation facilities, community education programs, and arts and entertainment) that give a community a high quality of life can contribute to the development of social capital through providing forums for social interaction.

Finally, the importance of public participation in defining change in a community, and the subjective nature of the ideal modes of change, is common to all three. Well-designed public participation processes ensure that all voices in a community are expressed and honored, provide opportunities for building social capital, and help to identify the amenities that reflect community values.

Despite the integrated nature of equity, social capital, and quality of life, each component of social sustainability has particular characteristics that influence processes of change in a community, and an aggregated measure of social sustainability may not accurately reflect a community's social conditions. First, equity within society does not necessarily imply the presence of strong social capital. Likewise, high quality of life does not equate with equitable distribution of costs and benefits. Finally, a community may have high quality amenities, but if it also has weak social networks and social support systems, it cannot be considered socially sustainable.

This analysis will consider the impacts of rural growth and growth management in the areas of equity, social capital, and quality of life. The purpose of this tripartite structure of analysis is to provide a framework for analysing rural growth management, and to capture the complex and integrated nature of the relationship between growth management and social sustainability.

3.5 MANAGING GROWTH FOR SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

In order for any growth management strategy to effectively accord with the principles of sustainability, it must be developed and implemented within a sustainability-oriented governance system that promotes proactive, long-term planning. A sustainable governance system "refers to all the processes and institutions by which society sets priorities, makes decisions, and implements those decisions. From a community perspective, it is the process of managing community activities based on ecological limitations, economic viability and social equity. It emphasizes integration, coordination and participation through public involvement and collaborative planning and decision-making" (British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1993c, 12).

As an important element of sustainability-oriented governance, growth management is often perceived as overly restrictive and threatening to a community's economic health. As Stone and Freilich (quoted in the Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995, 52) write, however, "Managing growth does not mean stopping change or closing the door to new residents. Properly designed and

implemented, a comprehensive growth management system provides a framework that enables local governments to balance and accommodate diverse and competing interests while ensuring the quality of life expected by [their citizens].”

This section outlines the role of governance in the pursuit of socially sustainable growth management, with an emphasis on the need for a regional perspective, the importance of public participation, and the role of land use and economic development strategies.

3.5.1 Regional Perspectives and Integration in Growth Management

Despite the pre-eminence of local level growth management planning, the larger contexts within which communities exist play a significant role in the success of growth management strategies and cannot be ignored in the processes of policy formulation. Environmental, economic, and social systems at regional, national, and global scales can have a profound effect on local level planning efforts. For example, small towns cannot hope to plan effectively without consideration for the roles of economic globalization and national environmental legislation in determining socio-economic conditions in rural communities.

Unfortunately, local needs do not always coincide with regional or global sustainability efforts, creating problems for the development of effective sustainability policy. Scott (1991), for example, notes that preservation of a local area’s natural environment will likely increase dependence on production in other parts of the region or the world. On the other hand, greater local self-sufficiency that might improve global sustainability will likely compromise local environmental integrity. Noting that the sustainability ethos emphasizes the preservation of the global ecosystem, Scott (1991, 343) argues for a more globally responsible sustainability perspective; rather than preserving the local area at the expense of other (often exploited) regions, “we should not hesitate to suffer more” in the pursuit of a more equitable distribution of costs and benefits. Therefore, while community growth management policies focus on the local level, the sustainability ethos would dictate that local level

decisions be made with a view toward global responsibility. Though the need for large scale changes cannot be overemphasized, global and national sustainability issues are beyond the scope of this paper.

Regional conditions, on the other hand, are so inextricably linked to local conditions that they cannot be considered independently from each other. In fact, because the issues associated with growth (such as transportation, employment, housing markets, and pollution) do not recognize jurisdictional boundaries, growth management is by its very nature a regional problem. As DeGrove and Metzger (1993), Owens (1994), and others note, even communities with the most responsible growth management plans will suffer the negative consequences of growth if neighboring jurisdictions are managing growth poorly. Similarly, local efforts to address such issues as housing affordability and air pollution will be frustrated if regional conditions are not favorable to positive change. Moreover, regional and local processes of socio-economic change are inherently dynamic. Referring specifically to rural economies, Allanson et al (1995, 1800) note that communities are comprised of a number of interacting social, economic, cultural, and political subsystems that are perpetually "undergoing a process of mutual coevolution" and that these ever-changing relationships must be considered in a community's efforts to address growth management issues.

Policy Implications

The regional and dynamic nature of growth points to the importance of a growth management policy that considers regional conditions and incorporates the flexibility to adapt to changing conditions.

The role of an integrated and regionally focused governance structure is particularly important in rural growth management. Growth management in rural communities has traditionally been addressed either through local level land use controls or through state level legislation, leaving a considerable gap between state and local interests. Because the regional context plays such a significant role in rural growth conditions, however, a regionally focused approach to growth that incorporates an

understanding and recognition of the complex and interrelated processes of rural growth is essential to effective rural growth management.

Similar to the global sustainability dilemma, however, local and regional growth management goals (or the goals of neighboring jurisdictions) can also appear to be in conflict. With little coordination between governments, the planning efforts of local governments can undermine regional efforts to develop socially sustainable growth management policy, and vice versa. A regional government's efforts to restrict growth within an urban growth boundary, for example, may be in conflict with a local community's efforts to provide affordable housing through the provision of an ample and growing supply of housing units.

Yet because local and regional issues are so closely related, the conditions and goals of local and regional governments may not be as different as it first appears. For example, a regional government may aim to encourage growth within a community while the community actively resists growth. Despite conflicting approaches and perspectives, the goal of the two jurisdictions may be the same: to avoid urban sprawl. Moreover, because most growth management issues are cross-jurisdictional, more can be accomplished through cooperation than through conflict.

In addition to the incorporation of regional governance, then, effective growth management policy must also involve what DeGrove and Metzger (1993) call vertical consistency (coordination among multiple levels of government) and horizontal consistency (coordination among local governments). Such coordination requires a governance structure that ensures the articulation of interests and goals and the "two-way communication" between the various levels of government (Owens 1994, 173). This on-going communication between levels of government is also the key to the development of a growth management policy that can adapt to changing ecological, economic, and social conditions and needs over time.

The Challenges of Regionally Focused Growth Management Policy

Far from a simple panacea, the task of creating a regionally focused and integrated growth management strategy involves a number of challenges. First, critics of regional governance argue that multiple interests cannot be served through regional growth management, and that local interests will be neglected. Furthermore, they argue that because different levels of government and different local governments have conflicting goals, the pursuit of vertical and horizontal consistency serves only to heighten tensions among interests (Baldassare et al 1996; DeGrove and Metzger 1993). While regional governance need not pre-empt local interests, these concerns raise the important issue of meeting local needs.

Second, studies have shown that support for regional growth management from the public and local governments is generally weak. In rural areas in particular, extra-local governance is commonly perceived as having an urban focus that compromises local interests, and studies in Oregon and Florida have shown that local governments generally resent the role of non-local involvement in local land use and development (DeGrove and Metzger 1993). Similarly, Baldassare's (1996, 19) work on perceptions of regional governance in California has shown that regional governance is often viewed by the public as a threat to the physical and social characteristics of a community, especially when it involves "lifestyle services" such as police and schools. It achieves a greater level of acceptance, however, when it involves such "maintenance services" as transportation, water, and sewer.

Third, the processes of developing coordinated growth management strategies can be time-consuming and costly, and local governments, especially in rural communities, often lack the resources to engage in such processes (DeGrove and Metzger 1993).

Despite these difficulties, however, the development of a regionally focused and integrative growth management policy is necessary to the pursuit of social sustainability, and the challenges associated with the development of such policy can and must be overcome. DeGrove and Metzger (1993) argue that while extra-local growth management is commonly cited for its inability to meet

local need, it actually improves local growth management efforts by protecting local communities against the negative effects of neighboring jurisdictions and the implementation of state policies that are inconsistent with local plans. Moreover, as the California study shows, the fact that local communities will accept regional governance for certain services indicates that the “fear of loss of local control can be overcome by the perceived self-interest in regional government,” and that continued exposure to regional governance brings about a more positive attitude toward the role of regional growth management (Baldassare et al 1996, 21, 26).

As DeGrove and Metzger (1993, 4) note, regardless of how top-down or bottom-up government systems may be, “ultimately, they all rely on coordination of individual but interrelated roles and responsibilities.” The key to regionally focused growth management, then, is to develop an integrative and flexible governance structure that addresses the regional context while meeting local needs.

3.5.2 Public Participation in Growth Management Planning

While “growth management will only occur in a comprehensive or coordinated fashion if government takes the lead in establishing an integrated framework,” the participation of local residents, the private sector, and special interest groups is essential to the development of sustainable growth management policy (DeGrove and Metzger 1993, 3-4).

The tenets of social sustainability call for the articulation of community preferences and the involvement of the public in planning, and public participation is increasingly seen as an essential component of addressing issues of social sustainability. Dorcey (1991a, 573) argues for public participation in decision-making processes based on its “democratic principles and practical advantages.” Similarly, Rees (1994) argues that political stability is necessary for economic and social sustainability, and that political stability is achieved through participation of an informed public.

Public participation in decision-making is commonly achieved through advisory committees, open hearings, round tables, public education sessions, and other processes. Consensus-based, multi-

stakeholder processes such as these produce decisions based on the “development of a common understanding (and) commitment to common goals” (British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1993c, 102).

Policy Implications

Because patterns of growth involve so many interests and impact so many individuals in a community, public participation is particularly important in the development of socially sustainable growth management policy. DeGrove and Metzger (1993), Neuman (1991), and the Fraser Basin Management Program et al (1995) argue that consensus-building is not a lofty and unattainable ideal, but a decision-making process that is integral to the success of growth management planning. Arguing that the most successful growth management strategies are based on consensus-based processes which involve all the stakeholders, they call for the full participation of all public and private interests in the development of growth management policy. By bringing all interests to the negotiating table, growth management will be tailored to the priorities of a particular community, and will, therefore, garner greater public support and improve the community’s prospects for sustainability (Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995).

Moreover, the ability to adapt to change over time is fundamental to community sustainability, and public participation allows a community to develop adaptable growth management policies and processes. The dynamic and evolving nature of growth requires flexible processes and policy that can adapt to ever-changing conditions, and Innes (1993) argues that such flexibility is best achieved through the on-going face-to-face interactions that define public participation processes.

The Challenges of Public Participation

While the benefits of public participation are touted, involving stakeholders in the identification of community goals and priorities and the development of growth management policy is not without

challenges. Perhaps the most commonly expressed difficulty encountered in public participation processes is the indifference of local residents and their unwillingness to get involved. Often, local residents are not willing to get involved until their lifestyle is threatened, but in many cases, the impacts of change do not become apparent until it is too late to influence the processes that are creating such change. Moreover, as Allanson et al (1995) note, some community members and interest groups are more vocal or politically savvy than others and are able to exploit or influence growth management processes to their benefit, thereby contributing to social inequity and strained social relations. Additionally, Gilbert (1993) argues that local residents lack the knowledge and technical expertise to be involved in the development and monitoring of growth management planning. While local residents are likely capable of more sophisticated involvement than that for which Gilbert credits them, their influence on planning processes can be quite limited; where the knowledge and skills are in place, often the opportunity to be involved in the implementation and monitoring stages of growth management is lacking. Thus, though they may participate effectively in the development of community priorities and goals, the influence of local residents over growth management ends before the effects of policy begin to take effect. Finally, as with intergovernmental integration processes, public participation processes can be quite time-consuming and costly.

Despite these difficulties, however, the full participation of stakeholders is essential to the success of sustainable growth management policy, and communities must work to address these challenges. Public outreach must be geared toward informing the public about the impacts of growth management, local residents and interest groups must be educated about all aspects of policy development and implementation, and all stakeholders must be equally involved in decision-making processes.

3.5.3 Land Use and Related Strategies

As the primary tool of growth management, land use policies are quite often perceived as overly restrictive, threatening to individual rights, and damaging to the local economy. Rather than halting growth, however, land use control is a form of government intervention that mitigates the negative consequences of growth to the greatest extent possible. As Chinitz (1990) argues, the role of land use policy is to *modify* market-driven land use choices in a way that minimizes damage to the environment and society that can result from unmanaged growth. Thus, rather than threatening community well-being, carefully considered policy and land use planning can play an important role in preserving a community's economic, environmental, and social health.

Because of the holistic and integrated nature of sustainability, policies that promote social sustainability must be implemented within a broad sustainability strategy that incorporates economic and environmental issues as well. Thus, while this section refers to those land use strategies that contribute directly to social sustainability, many of the strategies have environmental and/or economic benefits as well. Furthermore, while global, national, and regional trends in population growth, migration, and technological change have significant implications for sustainability, such large scale issues are outside the scope of this paper. Thus, while recognizing the importance of global and regional growth management planning, this section addresses only those strategies which can be implemented at the local level. Finally, the strategies and policies listed in this section are intended to be general and representative; the entire range of policy possibilities will not be included. Some of the following strategies, and their relationship to socially sustainable growth management, are explored in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Policy Implications

Land use strategies that contribute to social sustainability are those that promote dense settlement, the provision of affordable housing, a balance of economic and residential growth, the

provision of community amenities, and the preservation of agricultural and forestry land.

Densification, for example, is necessary for the preservation of community character, the incidence of face-to-face interactions, the reduction of automobile dependence and commuting times, and the accessibility of employment opportunities, goods, and services. In addition, land use strategies that ensure the provision of affordable housing have important equity implications and enhance social capital by allowing social networks to remain intact in the face of community change. A balance of economic and residential growth improves local self-reliance and builds community identity by reducing the need for local residents to go elsewhere for employment, goods, and services. Finally, the preservation of locally-owned agricultural and forestry land decreases reliance on external markets and improves self-reliance.

Other growth-related policy strategies that contribute to social sustainability include those that promote community economic development. Defined by Boothroyd and Davis (1993, 228) as strategies which "take some measure of the local economy back from the market and the state," community economic development emphasizes economic diversification, local control of resources and investment, economic self-reliance, and non-monetary exchange systems. Through economic diversification, a community reduces its dependence on primary industries and expands the range of employment opportunities, thereby reducing its vulnerability to economic cycles and providing greater long-term employment opportunities. Policies that promote local control of resources and economic self-reliance further reduce a community's vulnerability by minimizing its dependence on variable external economies, and place the ability to influence community change in the hands of local residents. Furthermore, greater self-reliance enhances social capital as more business is conducted within the community and local residents necessarily build networks, responsibility, and trust.

Socially sustainable growth can be promoted through a number of land use and community economic development policies. First, densification can be encouraged through such land use controls as urban growth and urban service boundaries (which limit development or service provision beyond

established boundaries), points systems that give priority to dense (or more affordable) development proposals, and zoning or tax incentives that promote redevelopment of unused land within municipal boundaries. Affordable housing can be ensured through the implementation of regulations that encourage attached (versus single-family) dwellings or require a percentage of each development's units to be affordable. Regulations that require developers to contribute to the development of parks and services enhance a community's amenities and ensure that servicing can keep up with development. Incentives (such as tax breaks and favorable zoning) can attract a diversity of more economically durable and less environmentally damaging industries, such as services, education, research, advanced technology, and non-extractive resource-related industries (e.g., tourism, wildlife biology, silviculture, and permaculture). And finally, entrepreneurial training programs, buy-local programs, and local exchange trading systems prevent leakages, foster self-reliance, and raise awareness of the importance of local investment.

The Challenges of Land Use Planning

As was emphasized in Chapter 2, the primary challenge of growth management through land use planning is that it involves trade-offs. While in-fill development promotes densification, for example, it also limits the amount of green space within a community. Similarly, while urban growth boundaries promote densification, they can also contribute to urban sprawl beyond municipal boundaries. The strategies that promote social sustainability, then, may not always garner public support, yet public support and involvement is a fundamental tenet of sustainability. As Owens (1994, 172) argues, however, "Land use planning can be seen as one of the political solutions to many-person prisoner's dilemmas, where the result of individual agents pursuing their own interests would be an outcome that is worse for everyone (or at least for most)." Thus, the creation of land use and other policies that promote socially sustainable growth management must involve the participation of an

informed citizenry in identifying trade-offs and establishing community priorities, and must be developed and implemented within a broader sustainability framework.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Allanson et al (1995, 1811) identify a “need for a holistic understanding of the complex interrelated processes which constitute the rural economy in order to inform and manage a range of possible policy directions.” Certainly, the development of growth management policy requires such an understanding, and community sustainability requires that growth be managed in such a way that contributes to the development of social sustainability. Because growth is influenced by a number of complex processes acting at a number of jurisdictional levels, the regional context within which growth is taking place must be considered. Furthermore, because the costs and benefits of change are largely subjective, all those impacted by growth must be fully involved in decision-making processes. Finally, because rural sustainability requires the design and implementation of socially sustainable policy, land use and related strategies must contribute to equity, social capital, and community quality of life.

The key to socially sustainable growth management is that no one policy will be sufficient. Rather, effective growth management requires the co-ordination of a number of policy instruments and agents, all of which “must be located within a strategic framework of clearly defined objectives and sustainability constraints” (Owens 1994, 173).

In analyzing socially sustainable, rural growth management, this paper examines the experiences of one small community facing rapid growth. Part II outlines the context for growth in the village of Pemberton, British Columbia, analyzes the impacts of growth and growth management on equity, social capital, and quality of life in the community, and suggests a set of strategic directions for the preservation of social sustainability in the future.

Part II The Case Study

Chapter Four Growth Trends and Growth Management in Pemberton, BC

"Forestry and agriculture are the principal activities in the general (Pemberton) area and are likely to continue the mainstays of the economic life of the district barring completely unforeseeable circumstances" (Department of Municipal Affairs 1961, 1).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Village of Pemberton, incorporated in 1956, is a town of 1,173 people that lies 160 kilometers northeast of Vancouver, BC, in the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District (SLRD) (see Appendix II). As a resource-based community, Pemberton has traditionally relied on agriculture, logging, and forest-related manufacturing for its livelihood. However, due to the recreational opportunities available in the area, the spectacular scenery that surrounds the town, and its proximity to Whistler (one of North America's pre-eminent recreational areas), Pemberton has seen considerable growth in the tourism industry since the 1980s.

One of the most significant issues facing the village today is rapid growth. While the Province's population is growing by about 2.5 percent annually, the Village's population has already increased thirty-seven percent since the 1996 census, and is expected to reach 1,700 by the next census count in 2001 (Village of Pemberton 1997; Interviewee 2 1998). With the traditional lifestyle and character of the village threatened as a result, strategies to consciously control and plan for change are necessary.

In order to understand the Village's approach to growth and its prospects for socially sustainable growth management in the future, the community's past and present conditions must be considered, and the legislative and institutional structures impacting the direction of change must be understood. This chapter reviews the history of growth and change in Pemberton, describes the community's present circumstances, and identifies some of the primary growth issues currently facing the village.

4.2 A HISTORY OF CHANGE: GROWTH TRENDS AND GROWTH MANAGEMENT IN PEMBERTON

Though not described in such terms, the community of Pemberton has been encountering issues of social sustainability and growth management since its beginnings. Until very recently, Pemberton was a resource-based community relying first on agriculture, then on forestry, for its livelihood. Since the 1980s, and especially in the 1990s, however, Pemberton has experienced a dramatic socio-economic transition from resource town to resort town. Also in recent years, public perceptions of growth have changed, and the community's approach to growth management is being reconsidered as a result.

4.2.1 The Early Years: Pemberton Before the Railway

Before the arrival of European explorers, the Pemberton Valley was settled by a branch of the Interior Salish thought to have been called the "lil'uet", or "onion people," because of the plenitude of wild onions in the area (Decker et al 1977, 7). As hunters and gatherers, the First Nations people lived off of the fish, vegetation, and wild game (including deer, mountain goat, and bear) prevalent in the Valley.

Employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the first Europeans known to explore the area arrived from Kamloops in 1827 looking for a trade route to Fort Langely that would bypass the Fraser Canyon. Some historians argue that the First Nations people, who were the first to cultivate potatoes in the Valley, obtained their first cultivated potatoes from these men (Decker, et. al 1977). While explorers from around Canada, Europe, the United States, and Asia continued to explore the area in search of new trade routes (often hiring First Nations as their guides), few settled in the Valley until gold was discovered in the area in 1858, at which time Port Pemberton (named for Joseph Despard Pemberton, Surveyor General of Vancouver Island) was established at the north end of Lillooet Lake.

The gold rush began in Pemberton in 1860, and by 1863, the first roads were being built in the area. As routes were cleared to access the gold fields, new areas were made available for cultivation, and by 1963, twelve farmers had settled in the Valley, some of whom had married First Nations women from the area (Decker et al 1977). Pemberton was still isolated by nearly impassable roads, however, so when a new road was built between Yale and Clinton in the Fraser Canyon, most of the families that had settled in the community moved away, and Port Pemberton died. A few families remained, however, and because word of Pemberton's rich farmland had spread, a slow stream of settlers continued to arrive in the years following the gold rush.

By the 1880s, the provincial government, hoping to promote the real estate and timber industries, offered land, timber, and mineral rights to prospective builders in the Pemberton area. This, combined with the area's reputation for prime agricultural land, prompted continued growth, and in 1895, the first post office was opened, setting the stage for the development of a new Pemberton.

4.2.2 The New Pemberton: Boom and Bust

For two decades, as Premier Richard McBride encouraged building and railway development throughout the Province, population and economic growth continued slowly in Pemberton. In 1905, a fish hatchery opened that provided some jobs, but the majority of the area's growth was spurred by the belief that Pemberton would soon be connected to the rest of the province by roads and railways (Decker et al 1977).

With the arrival of the Great Pacific Eastern Railway in 1914, Pemberton experienced an influx of settlers that continued through the 1930s. A school was built and flood control mechanisms (such as channels and dikes) were constructed that provided access to more of the area's land for farming. In the early 1920s, the Department of Agriculture offered assistance for the community to grow commercial seed potatoes, and while agriculture continued to expand and diversify, Pemberton's production of award-winning seed potatoes earned the community a reputation as "the seed potato

capital of North America” (Decker et al 1977; Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission 1996, 15). In the late 1920s and the 1930s, the growing timber industry also attracted settlers to the area and provided jobs for those already living in the Valley.

The 1940s and early 1950s were a time of transition and unprecedented growth in Pemberton. New technologies, such as the chain digger and the tractor, improved production and created a need for large crews of laborers, many of whom were local First Nations (Decker et al 1977). Beef production grew to be one of the Pemberton’s primary industries, and as the timber industry grew, a number of large logging companies located in the village. Moreover, as the 1945 -1951 flood control program made more land available for farming, and the Province offered financial assistance to start farms, settlers arrived from around Canada, Europe, the United States, and Hong Kong (Decker et al 1977).⁷ By 1953, electricity and telephones had reached Pemberton, and as the population increased, new businesses opened up and local businesses expanded.

Contrary to expectations, however, Pemberton’s economy suffered in the 1950s. As Decker et al (1977, 229) write, “With all the newly drained land, a fresh crop of settlers, more machinery, the coming of power, the telephone and the train through to Vancouver, the ‘fifties should have been a time of great prosperity for Pemberton farmers.” Instead, the prices for both potatoes and beef fell, and despite continued population growth (see Table 4.1), the community suffered economic hardship.

⁷ While the flood control program boosted Pemberton’s economy by making more lands available for cultivation, it also created the need for irrigation in the Valley (Decker et al 1977).

TABLE 4.1: POPULATION CHANGE IN PEMBERTON

year	population	% change from previous count
1956*	125	
1961**	181	+44.8
1966**	172	- 5.7
1971**	155	- 8.7
1976**	255	+64.5
1981✓	290	+13.7
1986✓	347	+ 19.7
1991✚	502	+ 44.7
1996✚	855	+70.3
2001✚ (estimate)	1700	+98.8

*sources: * Department of Municipal Affairs 1961, 5; **William Graham Consultants 1982, section 2.1; ✓Statistics Canada 1987, 295; ✚BC Stats 1998a, 1; ✚Interviewee 2 1998.*

Though a 1961 planning report (Department of Municipal Affairs 1961, 1) noted a “general levelling off in the rate of expansion in the forest industry,” this was not expected to impact Pemberton, and the 1960s remained a time of optimism in the community. In 1964, the development of the resort town of Whistler prompted the construction of a gravel road (it was paved in 1969) between Vancouver and Pemberton, opening the community to Vancouver’s and other major economies. Moreover, in 1965, potato prices reached an all time high, and though logging was surpassing agriculture as the primary industry in Pemberton, farming again became a viable activity in the Valley (Decker et al 1977). Still, with the general slowing of the timber industry, and with newer technologies reducing the need for human labor, the community gradually lost population throughout the 1960s (see Table 4.1).

Responding to the rapid growth of the 1940s and 1950s, however, and expecting further growth, the Village recognized the need to plan for change in the early 1960s. Noting that the consequence of unplanned or sprawling growth “could well be the spreading thin of a low level of municipal services, that is, the installation of services which are unduly expensive on a per customer basis and which would be likely to induce higher maintenance costs,” the Village implemented a set of zoning

regulations, subdivision controls, and building standards that promoted dense settlement and restricted development on lands subject to flooding (Department of Municipal Affairs 1961, 3-4).

4.2.3 The 1970s: A Promoter's Paradise

Labelled "a promoter's paradise" (Eberts 1974), the 1970s began with much of the same optimism that defined the 1960s. However, though census data show a dramatic increase in Pemberton's population in the 1970s, this growth does not reflect the actual socio-economic conditions that faced the community during this period. In 1971, a large logging company called Evans Products Ltd. located in Pemberton, providing 175 mill jobs, 125 logging jobs, and other related employment, and the community set its sights on tourism, resort, and commercial development (Still 1974; Eberts 1974). However, with limited developable land (due to municipal land use regulations and provincial development restrictions on floodplain and agricultural land), the community faced a severe shortage of housing to accommodate the rapid growth, and Evans experienced a turnover rate of 225 percent per year (Eberts 1974; Taylor 1974). Moreover, in the midst of a depressed national economy, the tourist boom never happened and the logging industry declined. By 1974, after spurring a sixty-five percent increase in population, Evans had shut down.

The presence of Evans Products Ltd., though short-lived, dramatically impacted socio-economic conditions (and social sustainability) in the community. In addition to providing local employment in general, Evans' hiring practices had important equity implications. Notably, the company made a practice of hiring women for jobs usually associated with men, thereby alleviating the problem of female unemployment that had always plagued the community. Furthermore, the company prided itself on hiring thirty to forty percent First Nations, which had the effect of relieving the growing racial tensions in the community (Taylor 1974). On the other hand, soon after its arrival, the company became "the only major industry in the Valley" (Taylor 1974) and more than ever, Pemberton became dependent on economic factors outside of local control; as one local resident noted in 1974, "The

advent of major industry represents a shattering of cloistered valley tradition...then one day they woke up to find they were no longer in charge" (Taylor 1974). The negative implications of such dependency became painfully clear when the company shut down and half of the community's residents found themselves unemployed.

Municipal planning during the 1970s shifted further toward growth accommodation. In 1973, in an attempt to address the housing shortage that accompanied the arrival of Evans, the Village petitioned the Province to remove land from the agricultural land development freeze and from the floodplain development restrictions, arguing that the blanket floodplain regulations didn't apply to Pemberton since the water table in the Valley had lowered and the volume of the Lillooet River had decreased since the regulations were put in place. The petition was denied, sparking local resentment against provincial regulations (Turnbull 1973). Interestingly, ten years later, the Lillooet River burst its dikes and flooded the Valley. One hundred people were evacuated, and the area suffered \$9 million in property damage (Schroeder 1985).

4.2.4 The 1980s: From Resource Town to Resort Town

The 1980s represented a turning point in Pemberton's history. By the early 1980s, Whistler was gaining popularity as a major resort town, and Pemberton was starting to feel the impacts of rapid growth in the nearby resort. From this point in the town's history, the nature and effect of change in the community were defined less by its identity as a resource-based community and more by its proximity to Whistler.

A 1982 study predicted that the single largest impact on socio-economic conditions in Pemberton in the coming decade would be generated by "resort related development" in Whistler and that a large portion of any new growth in the Pemberton area would be related to tourist activity (William Graham Consultants 1982, section 4.4). By this time, a significant land price differential had developed between the two communities; already single-family lots averaged \$50,000 more in Whistler than in

Pemberton, while single-family homes ranged from \$50,000 to \$100,000 more (William Graham Consultants 1982, sections 2.1 and 2.3). As a result, Pemberton became “a very desirable residential area for those middle income employees of the resort activities who cannot afford to pay resort prices” (William Graham Consultants 1982, section 4.1), and it has remained so ever since.

Growth in Whistler also affected Pemberton’s economic base (see Table 4.2). In the early 1980s, while forestry was still the largest employer in Pemberton, agriculture was declining in importance in the community. As a result of Pemberton’s growing popularity as a residential area for Whistler employees, construction was becoming a significant industry, and as would be expected in a budding resort town, service industries were growing. By the end of the decade, manufacturing and agriculture had all but disappeared, retail trade employed as many people as did logging, and the accommodation, food, and beverage industry was the largest employer in Pemberton (BC Stats 1993, 6). The growth and change in the community’s economic base in the 1980s positively affected the its economic profile; the 1986 unemployment rate (5.0) and incidence of low income (11.3 percent) were down significantly from their figures at the start of the decade (Statistics Canada 1988, 493, 499; Statistics Canada 1983, 1-307, 1-311).

TABLE 4.2: PERCENT OF EXPERIENCED LABOR FORCE EMPLOYED IN MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS

	1981*	1986**	1991✓	1996†
total experienced labor force	175	200	305	555
primary industries (including agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining)	34.2%	25%	13.1%	7.2%
manufacturing	0%	2.5%	0%	1.8%
construction	5.7%	2.5%	14.8%	11.7%
transportation, storage, communication, and utility	8.6%	12.5%	8.2%	9.0%
retail and wholesale trade industries	2.9%	15%	6.6%	16.2%
finance, insurance, and real estate industries	2.9%	0%	4.9%	6.3%
government service industries	11.4%	10%	8.2%	3.6%
other services (including business; education; health and social service; accommodation, food, and beverage; and other)	31.4%	25%	42.6%	42.3%

*sources: *Statistics Canada 1983, 1-309; **Statistics Canada 1988, 495; ✓BC Stats 1993, 6; †BC Stats 1998a, 7.*

The Village's approach to planning in the 1980s remained pro-growth, but with new residents arriving from more urban areas, expectations were changing, and more attention was given to upgrading amenities and services. For example, during this period, developers were requested to provide open space (such as parks, playgrounds, buffer areas, and pedestrian linkages) within village boundaries (William Graham Consultants 1982).

4.2.5 The 1990s: Changing Focus

The most dramatic changes in Pemberton have occurred in the 1990s. The decade began prosperously: the community was growing rapidly, average and median incomes were well over provincial averages, and the 1991 census showed an unemployment rate of zero (BC Stats 1993, 1, 10, 6). In the first half of the decade, the effects of growth were evident in the proliferation of construction in the community (see Table 4.3). While twenty-three building permits were issued in 1991, 1996 saw the issuance of eighty-eight permits (Village of Pemberton 1997, 1,6). In 1995 and 1996, a new high school and a new town court were built, as well as a large number of townhouse and single-family developments.

TABLE 4.3: BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED IN PEMBERTON

year	# of permits	residential	commercial/ industrial	other	total value	percent change
1989	44	\$3,185,305	\$752,560	\$56,000	\$3,993,865	
1990	48	\$2,272,936	\$105,710	\$14,200	\$2,392,846	-40.1
1991	23	\$505,380	\$152,809	\$0	\$658,189	-72.5
1992	44	\$2,731,550	\$770,600	\$16,000	\$3,518,150	+434.5
1993	75	\$3,651,015	\$282,080	\$0	\$3,933,095	+11.8
1994	94	\$2,429,174	\$76,300	\$8,000,000*	\$10,505,474	+167.1**
1995	70	\$7,882,645	\$1,163,911	\$0	\$9,046,556	-13.9
1996	88	\$10,982,979	\$647,070	\$0	\$11,630,049	+157

Source: Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission 1996

*for a new high school

**without the new high school, the total would be \$2,505,474, which is a thirty-six percent decrease from the previous year.

Development in the early 1990s, however, was increasingly geared toward the working people of Whistler. As one developer commented, "The local people might think we are nuts with those prices, but the Whistler people think it's a bargain" (Rebalski 1990). Thus, though dwelling costs in Pemberton averaged \$150,000 less than those in Whistler by 1991 (BC Stats 1993, 8), affordability was becoming an increasingly problematic issue for local residents. Moreover, services were strained and residents were growing increasingly uncomfortable with the rate of growth and change in the community.

Industry also experienced a transition in the first half of the 1990s (see Table 4.2). In 1991, thirteen percent of the labor force was employed in the primary industries. Of those, fifty percent were employed in logging and forestry, twenty-five percent in agriculture, twenty-five percent in mining, and zero percent in fishing. Of the fifty-one percent of the total labor force employed in the services, thirty-nine percent were employed in the accommodation, food, and beverage industry (BC Stats 1993, 6). By 1991, the percentage of the total labor force employed in the primary industries had dropped to thirteen percent, *all* of which was in logging and forestry. While the services grew in absolute terms, however, the percentage of people employed in these industries, and the percentage employed specifically in accommodation, food, and beverages, remained unchanged (BC Stats 1998a, 7).

While its policy has remained pro-growth throughout the 1990s, the Village has responded to public concerns about the pace of growth. Increasing anxiety about changing community character, inadequate services, and housing affordability led to a public outcry in the mid 1990s. In response, the Village placed a moratorium on the issuance of residential building permits in 1997 that lasted nearly a year. During this time, the Official Community Plan (OCP) was reviewed, and a number of public meetings and workshops were held to provide the public with the opportunity to express their views on growth and growth management. The results of these meetings will be reflected in the next OCP, which is currently being developed and is due out in 1999.

Despite a thirty-one percent increase in population from 1996 to 1997 (BC Stats, 1998b), growth in the community has slowed dramatically in the past year. The community hasn't reached its projected 1998 population of 1,168 (Village of Pemberton 1997), land prices have begun to drop, and housing sales have stalled (Interviewee 1 1998; Interviewee 7 1998). While seventy-four residential building permits were issued in 1996, only one has been issued since the start of 1998 (Interviewee 7 1998). Some in the community view the recent downturn as a brief lull and expect growth to continue (Interviewee 2 1998; Interviewee 5 1998); others view it as a natural flux in the economic cycle signalling "the end of the boom" (Interviewee 1 1998). In any case, if Pemberton is to develop in a way that is socially sustainable, the consequences of the recent growth must be carefully considered, and a robust growth management framework that can be effective during varying levels of growth must be designed.

4.3 PEMBERTON TODAY: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

With its increasing popularity as a tourist destination, Pemberton is continuing to experience significant socio-economic transition. Despite its rate of growth in the 1990s, however, Pemberton, as a community of less than 1,200 people, is still unquestionably a small town. Like many other small towns, Pemberton has a history of resource dependency and has, thus, suffered economic hardship with the decline of the resource industries. Unlike most rural communities, however, Pemberton is located just thirty kilometers from one of the world's most popular and rapidly growing resort towns (Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission 1996), a fact which has certainly influenced patterns of growth and change in the community. Moreover, the area's incredible natural beauty, as well as the accessibility of such outdoor activities as hiking, mountain biking, skiing, and horseback riding, has provided Pemberton with economic alternatives to resource extraction not available to most rural communities. Pemberton's demographic profile, then, reveals a community that while maintaining the

flavor and identity of a small town, also embodies many of the characteristics associated with more urban areas.

As a small town, according to Lapping et al (1989) and Daniels et al (1995), Pemberton would be expected to have a higher percentage of males, more people over the age of fifty-five, greater homogeneity, and fewer high school and college graduates than urban areas. Furthermore, it would be expected to have higher rates of unemployment and poverty, lower median family incomes, less access to amenities and services, and more affordable housing. Yet, in many ways, Pemberton does not fit this profile.

This section outlines some of the key demographic and socio-economic characteristics that define Pemberton.⁸ For comparison and context, it also presents data from the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District, the lower mainland (the most urbanized and populous region in the province),⁹ and British Columbia.

4.3.1 Population Characteristics

In terms of its sex and age structure, ethnic composition, and levels of education, Pemberton exhibits characteristics typical of both urban and rural communities. With a population that is fifty-two percent male, Pemberton has a percentage of males only slightly higher than the lower mainland and the province (see Table 4.4). However, the percentage of males increases considerably in the age cohort including residents sixty-five years old and older (an age group usually consisting of more females) (BC Stats 1998a, 1).

⁸ Because the community is changing so rapidly, data that is accurate at any particular point in time is difficult to ascertain. The data presented in this section has been obtained from 1996 census data.

⁹ The term 'lower mainland' refers to the Mainland/Southwest Development Region, which includes the Greater Vancouver area, the Fraser Valley, the Sunshine Coast, and the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District.

TABLE 4.4: SEX STRUCTURE

	British Columbia	Lower Mainland	SLRD	Pemberton
% of total population that is male	49%	49%	53%	52%
% of population over age 65 that is male	44%	43%	49%	60%

source: BC Stats 1998a, 1.

Though small communities tend to have larger populations of older people, Pemberton's population is relatively young (see Table 4.5). Pemberton's largest age groups are those including people aged twenty-five to thirty-nine; forty-two percent of Pemberton's population falls into these categories, while only twenty-six percent of lower mainland residents are between these ages. With eighteen percent of its population under ten years of age, Pemberton also has a high proportion of young children relative to the region, the lower mainland, and the province. Finally, while twenty-percent of Vancouver's population is fifty-five years old or older, only eight percent of Pemberton's population falls into that age cohort (BC Stats 1998a, 1).

TABLE 4.5: AGE STRUCTURE

	British Columbia	Lower Mainland	SLRD	Pemberton
population aged 0 to 9	13%	13%	15%	18%
population aged 25 to 39	24%	26%	31%	42%
population aged 55+	21%	20%	12%	8%

source: BC Stats 1998a, 1.

Pemberton's ethnic composition does conform to the reputation of small towns as more homogenous than cities. Fourteen percent of Pemberton's population is comprised of immigrants (mostly from the UK, China, the US, and the Philippines), and seven percent are visible minorities (including only Chinese, Filipinos, and Blacks). This is a significant difference from the lower mainland, which is comprised of thirty-three percent immigrants and twenty-eight percent visible minorities from a multitude of backgrounds. However, at seven percent, Pemberton does have a higher percentage of First Nations than the lower mainland's two percent (BC Stats 1998a, 4-6).

While Pemberton has a higher percentage of residents with high school diplomas than the province, the lower mainland, or the region, it has fewer residents with university degrees (see Table

4.6). In fact, while Pemberton may have more university educated people than many rural communities, its percentage is among the lowest in the region (BC Stats 1998a, 10).

TABLE 4.6: HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION, POPULATION 15 YEARS OLD AND OVER

	British Columbia	Lower Mainland	SLRD	Pemberton
high school diploma	13%	13%	14%	19%
trades certificate or diploma	4%	3%	3%	5%
university - no degree	13%	13%	13%	9%
bachelor's degree or higher	14%	16%	13%	6%

source: BC Stats 1998a, 10.

4.3.2 Socio-Economic Profile

The major industries in Pemberton in 1998 suggest that the community has a tourism-based, rather than a resource-based, economy (see Table 4.2). According to the 1996 census, the retail trade and accommodation, food, and beverage industries are the primary employers in the community, employing a total of thirty-two percent of the labor force, while the primary industries account for only seven percent of local employment. Currently, no farms are operating within village boundaries and none of the population is employed in agriculture. However, with 6,800 hectares of arable land in the Pemberton Valley and the Lillooet area, agriculture still plays an important role in Pemberton's economy (Sea to Sky Economic Development Commission 1996, 15).

At 9.6, Pemberton's unemployment rate is only slightly higher than that of the lower mainland (see Table 4.7). Furthermore, unlike many rural communities, average incomes are comparatively high, and a relatively small percentage of people fall into the low income category. While Pemberton's incidence of low income is high for the region at eighteen percent, it compares favorably to the lower mainland's and the province's rates (BC Stats 1998a, 7).

TABLE 4.7: AVERAGE INCOMES, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND INCIDENCES OF LOW INCOME

	British Columbia	Lower Mainland	SLRD	Pemberton
average individual income	\$26,295	n/a	\$27,212	\$28,257
median individual income	\$19,982	n/a	\$21,083	\$25,322
average family income	\$56,527	n/a	\$58,075	\$55,141
median family income	\$49,207	n/a	\$52,012	\$54,618
unemployment rate	9.6	8.7	8.4	9.6
incidence of low income	20%	22%	14%	18%

source: BC Stats 1998a, 7, 12, 14, 16.

If housing affordability were the index by which ruralness is measured, Pemberton would certainly not be labelled rural. With sixty-two percent of single-family households paying more than thirty percent of their incomes for shelter costs, the community is one of the least affordable in the regional district. While the lower mainland's housing costs are also high (fifty-seven percent of lower mainland single-family households are paying more than thirty percent of their incomes for housing costs), the average for both British Columbia and the SLRD is forty-eight percent. Still, the average cost for a dwelling in Pemberton is well below provincial or regional averages, and compared to Whistler, Pemberton is highly affordable (BC Stats 1998a, 18).

Finally, rural communities are reputed to have inferior amenities and services. Because the adequacy of amenities is highly subjective, it is difficult to present such data quantitatively. However, because a large proportion of Pemberton residents travel to Whistler for business and leisure activities (such as banking, shopping, and attending the community center), it may be assumed that some local services and amenities are unsatisfactory to local residents (Interviewee 1 1998). The adequacy of local services and amenities will be addressed in Chapter Five.

4.4 THE FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING IN PEMBERTON

In order to understand the Village's approach to growth and its prospects for socially sustainable growth management in the future, the legislative and institutional structures that direct change in the

community must be understood. This section outlines the institutional framework within which growth management strategies are designed and implemented in Pemberton.

Despite the inevitable impact of growth on the area, the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District has not yet adopted an official Regional Growth Strategy (RGS) under the BC Growth Strategies Act (a description of the provincial framework for growth management planning and the role of the RGS is contained within Appendix III). While councillors from around the region did decide in November 1997 to move forward with development of a RGS, Pemberton has since withdrawn its support pending commitment from the Ministry of Transportation and Highways to conduct a transportation corridor study of the area, and the process has been put on hold.¹⁰ Thus, until such time as a RGS is completed, the Village's OCP need not conform with the growth management goals and strategies of the Regional District. The legislative framework for planning in Pemberton, then, is currently defined by the municipal powers outlined in the 1979 Municipal Act. The Regional District has minimal influence over the design and implementation of growth management policies in the Village, except when the two jurisdictions voluntarily enter into cooperative agreements regarding management of the area.

Though the Village and the Regional District have separate legislative mandates and a different set of growth management goals and strategies, some coordination in planning exists between the two jurisdictions. As a member municipality of the Regional District, Pemberton is represented by a mayor that sits on the Regional District's Board of Directors, and many services are coordinated with those of the Regional District. The two jurisdictions have agreed to cooperate in the provision of the following services:

¹⁰ At a November 1997 meeting, a representative from the Ministry of Transportation and Highways announced that if the Regional District agreed to develop a RGS, the Province would conduct a transportation corridor study of the area. Since that time, the Province has determined that the Pemberton area is not a high priority for a corridor study. Withdrawal of support for the RGS, then, is "a political pullback to push (the transportation study) forward" (Interviewee 4 1998).

- jurisdictional restructuring of the municipality
- preparation of emergency management plans
- identification of new industrial areas within the region
- controlling access and development in Pemberton's watershed
- alignment and development of roads
- water servicing within the village and surrounding areas
- police, ambulance, fire, health, and library services

In addition, in the OCP for the Pemberton Fringe Area (the area around the Village that is under the jurisdiction of the SLRD), the Regional District specifically declares its support and encouragement of certain planning agendas of the Village, such as the development and expansion of the airport and the upgrading of rail service to the town (Squamish-Lillooet Regional District 1989).

Although development of the 1999 Official Community Plan is underway, growth in Pemberton is currently guided by the 1994 OCP. The current plan, which has a decidedly pro-growth agenda, explicitly states the Village's aim to become a bedroom community for Whistler and to attract both tourists and retirees. Moreover, it calls for the protection of the natural environment, the preservation of the village character of Pemberton, the improvement of recreational opportunities, and the provision of municipal services to accommodate growth. A summary of the 1994 OCP is contained within Appendix IV.

According to local community leaders, the forthcoming plan will not differ significantly from the existing plan; the focus will still be on attracting growth, particularly in the tourism sector, to the community. As a result of recent community concerns, however, some of the language will be changed to reflect a more locally focused approach to growth. Rather than gearing development toward Whistlerites, the Village will aim "to create a life and a style of our own" (Interviewee 4 1998).

4.5 GROWTH MANAGEMENT ISSUES IN PEMBERTON

As Pemberton nears the new millennium, it will have to make some decisions regarding growth management, and these decisions could have long-term impacts on the community. The question is not necessarily whether to continue to promote growth or to limit growth. In some ways, growth is already limited in Pemberton; much of that land which is not rough mountain terrain is held within the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR), and the Village estimates that it has a capacity of 5,000 residents given the available land area (Interviewee 7 1998). Furthermore, growth depends largely on regional trends, and with the recent decline in land values and housing sales, the community's economic future is uncertain. Thus, the question in Pemberton is not whether to promote or to limit growth, but how to manage it in a socially sustainable way.

This section provides an overview of growth issues currently facing the community. Because a socio-economic profile does not necessarily reveal issues of social sustainability, however, these issues will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

4.5.1 Social Sustainability Issues

If growth management in Pemberton is to be socially sustainable, the long term impacts of current and future growth management strategies on equity, social capital, and quality of life must be considered. Fundamental to this notion of social sustainability are the concepts of local self-reliance, long-term durability, and community satisfaction, and the changes occurring in Pemberton today will undoubtedly impact these. If the population continues to increase, the community's character and sense of community will be altered, and current and potential social networks will change. Similarly, Pemberton's growing role as a bedroom community to Whistler will impact housing affordability and the balance of residential and commercial development. Finally, changes in the community's industrial base will affect the availability of local employment and the ability of the local economy to withstand fluctuations in the market.

While the community cannot control all of the factors of growth and change, it can be proactive in the way it plans for change. Growth management policy can be designed in such a way that promotes equitable access to housing and employment, that contributes to social solidarity and social networks, and that ensures the maintenance of a satisfactory level of services and amenities. Of course, as with any growth management strategy, there will be trade-offs and conflicts, and the key to successful growth management is that these trade-offs must be acknowledged, considered, and addressed in the design and implementation of policy.

4.5.2 Regional Issues

As was noted in Chapter Three, while local action determines the direction of change in a community, consideration of the regional context is vitally important to a successful growth management strategy at the local level. Increasing provincial and regional populations have undoubtedly contributed to growth in Pemberton, and the change in the regional economy from resource to tourism dependence has impacted the local economy. Likewise, the recent downturn in Pemberton's economy has been linked to the declining provincial and regional economies (Interviewee 7 1998). Thus, local planning without consideration of the broader context will encounter roadblocks.

Because a Regional Growth Strategy is on the horizon, and because growth issues are cross-jurisdictional, the Regional District's growth management strategies will have to be considered in the development of local policy. In particular, planning in the Pemberton Fringe Area will impact conditions within the Village, and the agendas of the two jurisdictions are not entirely alike. For example, rather than a completely pro-growth approach, the Regional District emphasizes concentrated settlement patterns, the diversification of the economy, and the preservation of the forestry sector and the agricultural land base. Moreover, while the preservation of the natural environment is a major focus of the Fringe Area Plan, the Village Plan merely lists it as a priority (Squamish-Lillooet Regional District 1994; Village of Pemberton 1994). These differences will have to be resolved, if not for the

development of an RGS, then because planning in the region will inevitably impact conditions in Pemberton.

Of particular importance in the region are conditions in the community of Whistler. As Brissenden (1997, 3-4) recently noted, “(Whistler’s) very success is forcing the resort to face a host of tough issues - from labor and housing shortages to crime control and the provision of adequate community amenities. At the top of the list is the urgent necessity to provide adequate, affordable housing for it’s thousands of minimum-wage seasonal workers.” These issues have been spilling over into Pemberton, and if Whistler’s recent economic decline persists, this trend will also continue to impact the community.

While First Nations people comprise a relatively small proportion of Pemberton’s population, their presence in the region is significant. First Nations people fill local jobs, support local businesses, and utilize local services. Their role in the Pemberton community is significant, and because local growth impacts the region, and vice versa, consideration of First Nations issues is vitally important to the sustainability of growth management policy.

4.5.3 Public Participation

Another issue that will have to be addressed if growth management is to be socially sustainable in Pemberton is public participation in the decision-making processes. Because Pemberton is a small town in which decision-makers are highly visible and accessible, community members have a relatively good chance of influencing political processes. Still, involving a diverse and rapidly changing citizenry in such processes is never easy, and Pemberton will face a number of challenges. First, the issue of growth has split the community; some members of the community are opposed to growth, while others would prefer continued growth, and emotions and opinions are strong on both sides of the debate. Moreover, even those who support growth generally feel that it has been too rapid and advocate growth control (Reed 1996), but there is disagreement in the community about the most

appropriate way to manage growth and about acceptable trade-offs. Finding a unitary strategy that will satisfy everyone when interests are widely diverse is never an easy task. Second, while some members of the community are quite vocal, others are not heard, and their interests are therefore less likely to be reflected in future policy. Third, because the community is changing so rapidly, it is difficult to keep abreast of community preferences and interests. Finally, while the generation of a community 'wish list' has been a relatively easy task, involving the public in the design and implementation of growth management policy, a fundamental component of social sustainability, is somewhat more difficult.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In some ways, the community of Pemberton embodies the characteristics typical of small, resource-based communities around North America. In other ways, it more closely fits the profile of a metropolitan area. On one hand, the community is suffering from the decline in the resource industries; on the other hand, it is facing the challenges of rapid growth and a changing community identity. As a result of these changes, Pemberton is no longer a resource-based community, yet nor has it built a solid economic base as a resort community. Today, Pemberton is a community in transition, a community holding onto its village identity while aiming to attract population and economic growth.

Pemberton's history has shown it to be a community defined by the ability to withstand and adapt to change. If it is to remain so, the Village must carefully consider the regional conditions that impact the local community and must involve local residents in decision-making processes. Furthermore, it must ensure equitable access to local employment and housing, the preservation of social networks, and the maintenance of adequate amenities and services. If Pemberton is able to achieve these goals, then it will be a community in which individual needs are met, in which people are satisfied with the quality of life, and in which residents are able to remain in the community despite changes in the national or provincial economies. In short, it will be a socially sustainable community.

Pemberton's prospects for socially sustainable growth management depend largely on the policy choices the community makes in the near future. The impacts of growth on the community, and the community's prospects for social sustainability in the future, will be addressed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five The Impacts of Growth on Social Sustainability in Pemberton

"The realtors kind of advertise it as 'go buy a house in Pemberton, and buy a Jaguar or a BMW 750 series to drive back and forth with the money you save.' That's quite true" (Interviewee 7 1998).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Community social sustainability requires the long-term maintenance of equity, social capital, and quality of life, even in the face of unpredictable external conditions. The recent growth in Pemberton has presented a number of challenges and opportunities for social sustainability in the community; likewise, the way growth is managed now and in the future will impact the community's future prospects for social sustainability. Managing growth in a way that is socially sustainable is no simple task, however, and the Pemberton case reveals the range of challenges such an endeavor may encounter. With a rapidly changing population with a diverse range of interests, the community's goals often conflict with one another. Thus, growth strategies necessarily involve trade-offs, highlighting the need for the participation of all those impacted by growth in decision-making processes and the consideration of the broad range of issues impacting change.

This chapter examines the ways in which growth has impacted social sustainability in Pemberton, and the implications that the Village's current approach to growth management will have for social sustainability in the future. Additionally, this chapter addresses the regional context for growth management planning in Pemberton and considers the prospects for public participation in policy development.

5.2 GROWTH AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

In examining five areas of change in Pemberton (the economic base, the balance of residential and economic growth, housing affordability, community character, and community amenities), this section analyzes the effects of Pemberton's recent growth on equity, social capital, and quality of life

in the community. For each area, the current situation, the related policy, and the implications for social sustainability are considered.

5.2.1 Changing Economic Base

Like many communities with a history of resource dependence, Pemberton has in recent years been forced to explore new avenues for economic development, and the resulting situation has significant implications for social sustainability in the community. With only seven percent of its residents employed in the primary industries and the majority working in the service and retail sectors, Pemberton seems to be making the transition from resource town to resort town (BC Stats 1998a, 7). Despite these statistics, however, much of Pemberton's recent growth has been attributable to growth in Whistler, and the community is just now beginning to gain attention as a tourist destination in its own right (Interviewees 4 and 5 1998).

While Whistler-related growth initially had quite positive effects on the community's economic profile, recent years have been more difficult. For example, though the community's unemployment rate decreased between 1981 and 1991, it rose from zero in 1991 to 9.6 in 1996 (Statistics Canada 1983, 1-307; BC Stats 1993, 6; BC Stats 1998a, 7). Similarly, the community's incidence of low income for families declined from nineteen percent in 1981 to 2.8 percent in 1991, then rose significantly to twenty percent in 1996 (Statistics Canada 1983, 1-311; BC Stats 1993, 10; BC Stats 1998a, 16).

Despite these recent challenges, Pemberton residents generally have a positive attitude toward tourism as an economic development strategy. Of the 232 respondents to a 1996 survey of attitudes toward growth in Pemberton,¹¹ seventy-two percent agreed or strongly agreed that the tourism industry

¹¹The survey cited was conducted by Dr. Maureen Reed of the University of British Columbia. Of the 800 mailed surveys, 232 usable returns were obtained. Respondents tended to be female and highly educated, and not all of the respondents lived within village boundaries (Reed, 1996). Because the survey polled only a sample of Pemberton residents, its results may not be representative of the entire range and balance of opinions on growth. Still, it does provide a general idea of the community's sentiments about change in Pemberton.

provides worthwhile employment opportunities, while only eleven percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed (Reed 1996, 8). Similarly, fifty percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the benefits of tourism outweigh the costs, while only twenty-eight percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, and most felt that tourism would improve local parks, recreation facilities, and cultural activities (Reed 1996, 8).

Policy

As an essentially pro-growth plan, a fundamental goal of Pemberton's OCP is "a stable economy that rests upon the Pemberton area becoming a tourist destination and a retirement center, and remaining the service center for the Pemberton Valley" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 7). In order to further growth in the tourism sector, the OCP emphasizes development of "highway-commercial" operations such as motels, gas stations, and travellers' restaurants adjacent to the highway (Village of Pemberton 1994, 13). Furthermore, the policies listed in the plan call for downtown revitalization and beautification, the encouragement of small-scale retail businesses in the downtown core, and the promotion of tourist-oriented rail passenger service to Pemberton.

The focus of the upcoming 1999 OCP will remain pro-growth. Like the current plan, the new plan will emphasize development of the tourist sector, but it will also make specific reference to diversifying the economy (Interviewee 6 1998).

Implications for Social Sustainability

With tourism development as one of the primary goals of Pemberton's OCP, the role of the tourist sector in Pemberton's economy will likely grow, and the trend will present a number of opportunities and challenges for social sustainability in the community.

The most significant contribution that tourism development can offer to the pursuit of social sustainability in Pemberton is a market for a diversity of locally-owned small businesses. In addition

to the economic advantages of locally-owned businesses (locally-supplied services allow the community to benefit from tourist dollars), the business decisions that impact the town are made by community members who are more likely to have the community's interests in mind. Furthermore, according to Long et al (1988, 373), the improved local recreational opportunities that frequently accompany the transition to tourism play an important role in "shaping people's perceptions of satisfaction with their communities," and community satisfaction is essential to the development of community identity, solidarity, and pride.

Tourism also presents a number of challenges for community social sustainability. First, both supply and demand in tourism development tend to be externally driven; small communities such as Pemberton are often lacking in the resources necessary to develop the infrastructure, facilities, and services necessary to satisfy the tourist market, so they must rely on large resort companies. In these cases, not only does the community become more vulnerable to market fluctuations, but the decisions that most impact the community are often made by executives in faraway cities and do not reflect the community's interests or values. Furthermore, recent commercial growth in Pemberton has largely occurred in the form of locally-owned businesses, most of which cater to local need (the new grocery store, new video store, and others) (Interviewee 2 1998). However, if economic growth is represented primarily by expanding visitor services, the needs of local people will not necessarily be met. Thus, if tourism development is not guided by carefully designed policy, the influence of outside interests is likely to reduce self-reliance and self-determination, thereby diminishing social sustainability in the community.

Second, the costs and benefits of tourism are not necessarily distributed equitably, and Pemberton is particularly vulnerable to the problem of gender inequity. While the service sector generally employs more women than do the primary industries, employment statistics indicate that women are not yet benefiting from the changing economic base. For example, in 1996, Pemberton's unemployment rate was represented entirely by the community's female population; while the male

unemployment rate remained at zero between 1991 and 1996, female unemployment rose from zero to 17.6 (one of the highest rates in the region) (BC Stats 1993, 10; BC Stats 1998a, 7). Furthermore, while the median annual incomes for males increased by over \$2,000 between 1991 and 1996, the median annual incomes for females actually declined by nearly \$6000 (BC Stats 1993, 9; BC Stats 1998a, 13). As Gilbert (1993, 145) notes, the unequal distribution of costs and benefits that often accompanies tourism development can strain social relations, thereby inhibiting social solidarity and community cohesion. Thus, if strategies are not employed to ensure that women will benefit equally from tourism development, social sustainability will be threatened as a result.

Third, because tourism-related jobs are quite often seasonal, they are also lower paying and less secure than year-round jobs and attract a younger and more transient population. Currently, Pemberton has a fairly stable population (i.e., people that move to Pemberton tend to stay), but for many families, a low-paying seasonal job will not be adequate (Interviewees 1 and 2 1998, Reed 1996). While only ten percent of respondents in the Reed survey indicated that they were employed seasonally, a shift to tourism will likely increase that percentage (Reed 1996, 2). If families are forced to relocate as a result, established social networks will be disrupted, and new networks will be difficult to form.

Finally, the mutable nature of the populations in resort communities presents another challenge for social sustainability, and the town of Aspen provides an example of the potential impacts of a tourist-based economy on a community. Ward (1996, 1) notes that "As a resort and a community, Aspen is volatile and schizophrenic" as a result of the continual influxes of seasonal workers and tourists. In such a changeable community, residents do not know one another, feel no responsibility for each other, and have no incentive to invest in their communities. One particular problem is the proliferation of second homes in resort communities. In Aspen, the effect of second homes on social sustainability has been dramatic. As the former Pitkin County Commissioner notes, the proliferation of second homes in Aspen, "has literally killed the community, and it's killing it more and more all the time. Where there used to be somebody living there, rich or poor, there were tricycles on the street,

there were people on the walks, there was activity. You said 'hi' to people you knew as you walked around the block in the evening. Now you can say 'hi' (but) there's nobody home" (Condon 1996, 4). Pemberton has yet to experience the second home phenomenon, and it will likely never reach the size or status of Aspen, but if the pursuit of tourism is successful, the demand for second homes will increase, the population of part-time residents in the community will rise, and the prospects for social sustainability in the community will be weakened.

Though Pemberton has yet to establish itself as a major resort destination, its proximity to Whistler and its spectacular natural setting give the community a particular advantage in the transition from resource town to resort town. However, while tourism will likely provide some much needed local employment, growth is not a panacea and does not ensure the equitable distribution of costs and benefits, the preservation of social capital, or the maintenance of a high quality of life, and these issues must be addressed if the transition is to result in a sustainable community.

5.2.2 Balance of Economic and Residential Growth

A balance between economic and residential growth is fundamental to the sustainability of a community, and as a bedroom community for the town of Whistler, Pemberton is currently experiencing a pronounced imbalance. According to a planner working in Pemberton, "Right now, it's a community in transition, and we've gone through a huge residential boom without very much commercial" (Interviewee 6 1998).

The most notable impact of the change is the current lack of local employment opportunities; the majority of respondents in the 1996 Reed survey rated employment opportunities as "low," and Council members note that the lack of local jobs is a frequent complaint among community members (Reed 1996, 4; Interviewees 2, 4, and 5 1998). As a result, Pemberton has a high rate of commuting; according to Reed's survey, thirty-one percent of respondents indicated that they commuted to other communities for work (primarily to Whistler), and thirty-three percent indicated that some one else in

the household commuted (Reed 1996, 2). Another impact of the current imbalance is the lack of Pemberton residents conducting business and utilizing services and facilities within the community. A number of interviewees indicated that many of the services in Whistler (such as shops, banks, bars, and fitness clubs) are more satisfactory and more convenient for Pemberton residents, especially for those already working in Whistler (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 1998).

Although one developer working in the area argued that Pemberton's status as a bedroom community is a benefit (because the community can remain rural while utilizing the services available in Whistler) (Interviewee 7 1998), most of those impacted by growth see the trend as negative. According to Village representatives, residents would jump at the opportunity to work locally and would prefer to do their business in Pemberton if services were as satisfactory and convenient as they are in Whistler (Interviewees 2, 4, and 5 1998).

Unfortunately, there is no simple solution to the imbalance, and growth has not so far resolved the problem. Currently, the population base is not large enough to support more commercial development, yet the community has clearly articulated its resistance to further residential growth (especially multi-family housing) that would provide the market for needed services. As one interviewee commented, "We have talked about diversifying and trying to be more complete, or sustainable...but how do you do it? I mean, who is going to go and start up businesses? There's got to be a demand" (Interviewee 6 1998). Furthermore, the community is not in agreement as to the level of services that are required; while the newer residents tend to prefer more upscale services, many long-time residents feel that such services are not only unnecessary, but are threatening to the community's rural lifestyle (Interviewees 1, 2, 5, and 6 1998).

Policy

Beyond encouraging growth in the residential and commercial sectors, the Pemberton OCP specifically states the Village's goal of "providing affordable housing for the Whistler area" (Village

of Pemberton 1994, 7). Community members, however, have been quite resistant to this idea and have made such sentiments very clear in recent public forums (Town Hall meeting 1997; Interviewees 2, 3, 4, and 5 1998). According to one member of Pemberton's Advisory Planning Committee (APC) "It's not the intent of the residents there to be the bedroom community of Whistler. If we've heard anything loud and clear, it's we don't have an obligation to, nor do we want to be, Whistler's bedroom community" (Interviewee 1 1998). As a result, in the upcoming 1999 OCP, references to Whistler will be removed; however, while the language will be changed to more accurately reflect the desires of community members, the fundamental focus of the plan will remain unchanged, and the new plan, like the one in effect today, will continue to encourage, support, and accommodate both residential and commercial growth (Interviewees 4 and 5 1998).

Implications for Social Sustainability

While the Village will no longer be "planning on behalf of Whistler" (Pemberton and Area Advisory Planning Committee 1997, 1), the influence of Whistler, and its affordable housing crisis, will continue to be a reality and will continue to influence social sustainability in the community.

The prevalence of commuting in Pemberton inhibits the development of social capital in the community. First, because they often conduct business and utilize services in Whistler, commuters lack opportunities for the face-to-face contact with other community members that is necessary for establishing familiarity and building trust. Furthermore, commuters have less time for participation in the community-building activities and political processes that give them a voice in their communities. Second, because many of Pemberton's new residents are relocating from Whistler, they rely on previously established social networks and have little incentive to make connections or form social bonds in Pemberton. As one interviewee commented, "It's been difficult I think to create a sense of community because you have people who are commuting from Whistler, they're doing everything in Whistler, and driving to Pemberton, turning into their driveway, and closing the door behind them, and

that's all they know of Pemberton" (Interviewee 3 1998).

The relative lack of commercial development also impacts quality of life in Pemberton. For example, the residents of Pemberton would prefer more local night life opportunities, restaurants, and shops (Reed 1996), but with the more upscale preferences of many of the newer residents and the small population base, such local services could not compete with those in Whistler. Thus, for many Pemberton residents who would prefer to socialize and conduct business in Pemberton, access to adequate local amenities is lacking.

Some of those involved in planning in Pemberton see the present imbalance as a temporary result of the community's current transition (Interviewees 4 and 5 1998). Indeed, the rapid growth in Pemberton is a new issue, and it takes time for new members of a community to be fully integrated into community life. However, as long as Pemberton continues to grow as a bedroom community for Whistler, social networks, employment, and services will remain in Whistler, and local social sustainability will be threatened as a result.

5.2.3 Housing Affordability

Housing affordability is one of the most pressing issues facing Pemberton today, and the situation impacts prospects for social sustainability in the community. According to 1996 census data, sixty-two percent of single-family households are paying more than thirty-percent of their incomes for housing costs, a figure well above the provincial average of forty-eight percent of such households (BC Stats 1998a, 18). Though land prices have recently begun to decline, Council members and other community leaders still identify housing affordability as a major issue (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, and 7 1998).

Despite the affordability issues in Pemberton and the general public support for the provision of affordable housing (Reed 1996), a number of barriers to affordable housing exist in the community. First, because the high demand for housing seems to outweigh other factors (such as growth control

legislation) in determining housing affordability in resort communities (Condon 1996), the Village's goal to develop as a tourist destination and as a bedroom community for Whistler will likely be Pemberton's primary obstacle to affordability.

Another issue impacting housing costs in Pemberton is the predominance of single-family homes, the most expensive form of housing in terms of monetary, servicing, and environmental costs. Of the respondents to the Reed survey, fifty-four percent lived in detached single-family homes, fourteen percent lived in mobile homes, ten percent in single-family homes with suites, nine percent in townhouses, and the rest in other forms of housing (Reed 1996, 2). Though multi-family housing developments are becoming more common in the community, a planner familiar with the area notes that "there is a lot of concern about multi-family housing" among Pemberton residents (Interviewee 6 1998).

Finally, the lack of developable land in Pemberton represents another barrier to affordable housing in the community. In addition to the (until recently) very high demand for housing in Pemberton, housing costs are driven up by the already existing limits to growth in the area, including the mountain topography, the floodplain, and the Agricultural Land Reserve. The majority of available land in the community is located on steep, rocky hillside, which is expensive and difficult to service and is generally not conducive to the development of multi-family housing (Interviewees 1 and 7 1998).

Policy

To date, the Village of Pemberton has maintained somewhat of a hands-off approach to affordable housing, relying primarily on the principles of supply and demand to guide housing provision. According to a representative of the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District (SLRD), "Local government has not played a role at all, actually, in trying to ensure that housing is affordable, other than keeping the tether pretty loose on the development industry so that there is an abundance of

product on the market. In the Village of Pemberton, the approach that they have taken is that a way to keep prices down is to ensure a strong supply” (Interviewee 3 1998).

Many of the policies contained within the Village OCP, though not directly aimed at housing costs, will impact affordability in the community. A number of policies, for example, indicate the Village’s intent to accommodate multi-family housing, higher density developments, and residential units within mixed use buildings (Village of Pemberton 1994, 11-12). Policy Number Seven states that while the existing mobile home park will remain at its current site, no new land will be designated for such parks. While housing affordability is intended to result from a high *quantity* of units, the issue of housing *quality* is not addressed in the plan.

Because of increasing public concerns about Pemberton’s role as a bedroom community for Whistler, specific references to Whistler will be removed in the upcoming 1999 OCP. However, the fundamental focus of the plan will not change, and the community will continue to provide affordable housing for Whistler employees (Interviewees 1, 4, and 5 1998).

Implications for Social Sustainability

Because Pemberton will not likely reach the size or status of Whistler, its land values will remain lower than Whistler’s. However, *inexpensive relative to Whistler* does not mean *affordable*, and the lack of affordable housing in Pemberton has significant implications for social sustainability in the community.

Analysis of housing costs reveals that affordability in Pemberton has an equity component. First, though affordability is an issue for both homeowners and renters, conditions in Pemberton clearly favor homeowners. While fifty-five percent of homeownership single-family households in Pemberton pay more than thirty percent of their annual incomes for housing costs, eighty-eight percent of renting single-family households live in unaffordable housing (BC Stats 1998a, 18). Furthermore, sixty-nine percent of respondents in the Reed survey rated the availability of rental housing as “low” or

“very low,” while the majority rated home ownership availability as “average” (Reed 1996, 4). With the Village’s stated intention to disallow mobile homes (one of the few options for the less wealthy to own homes) conditions will remain unfavorable for those who cannot afford to purchase homes. Second, while housing affordability does not seem to be an issue for people moving into the newer developments in Pemberton (they are relocating to the community because they have housing), it is an issue for long time-residents of the community, particularly families, who sometimes find they are priced out of the community (Interviewees 1 and 3 1998).

In addition to the obvious equity issues associated with a housing situation that favors wealthier newcomers, Pemberton’s affordability problem has important implications for social capital. First, with long-time residents unable to remain in the community, families and other social networks are divided, and community support systems are unravelled. As the SLRD representative commented, “People with maturing families say ‘ten years ago when my family was young, it looked like my kids could buy a house here and they’d be able to stay in the community,’” but now many people are concerned that their children will have to leave (Interviewee 3 1998). And because Pemberton has traditionally been a community with a small tax base in which many of its residents’ social needs are provided through extended family, the recent trend represents “a real social concern” (Interviewee 3 1998).

For those who are able to remain in the community, the stress encountered as a result of rising living costs has implications for the preservation of social capital and quality of life. According to studies of growing resort towns in Colorado, local residents suffer significantly from the stress associated with the low wages, high costs of living, and high rates of commuting in resorts (Urquhart 1996; Ring 1995). The result of such stress, often exacerbated by working extra hours or second jobs, has been a dramatic increase in visits to hospitals, battered women’s shelters, senior service centers, counselling centers, and other social service agencies that is out of proportion to population growth (Urquhart 1996; Ring 1995). Not only is community cohesion impacted by such a situation, but the

time and energy spent working second jobs and commuting provides less time and energy to enjoy the community amenities and to participate in community-building activities and decision-making processes.

If Pemberton is successful in its efforts to develop its role as a tourist destination, and if it continues to develop as an affordable housing area for Whistler employees, the community will have to contend with the issue of housing affordability. Furthermore, with increasing resistance to growth and the limitations imposed by the ALR and the floodplain, the Village's current strategy (keeping prices down through a strong supply) will be insufficient, and social sustainability will be impacted as a result.

5.2.4 Changing Town Character

As a small, rural town, Pemberton has generally been characterized by friendly people, a low crime rate, a lack of congestion, and familiarity among community members. And as in many small towns, its residents have enjoyed well-established social support networks and a strong sense of community identity (Decker et al 1977; Interviewee 3 1998). The rapid growth in recent years has impacted residents' perceptions of these characteristics, and has undoubtedly affected the social sustainability of the community as a result.

The most obvious change has been in the sheer numbers of people living in the community. Once, residents recognized each other on the street; today, there are many new faces. Furthermore, with the recent proliferation of multi-family dwellings and suburban-style developments, the community is noticeably more dense. Accompanying these changes are perceived increases in noise, traffic congestion and crime (Reed 1996; Interviewees 1 and 7 1998). As was previously noted, the community is also experiencing an increased - and more urban - demand for commercial services and has, thus, seen an increase in the number of stores, restaurants, and other commercial services.

Whether these changes have impacted the community positively or negatively is largely subjective. While some local residents feel growth adds vitality, energy, and excitement to the community, others feel it contributes to feelings of isolation (Reed 1996; Interviewee 7 1998). Similarly, while some community members appreciate the new stores and restaurants, others feel they create unnecessary congestion (Reed 1996; Interviewees 1 and 7 1998). Residents' impressions of these changes depend largely on their length of stay in the community. As the mayor of Pemberton commented, "I think the sense of community for the people that have been here a long time, they feel it's gone. For the new people that are coming in, they think it's got a wonderful sense of community" (Interviewee 2 1998). Overall, the results of the Reed survey indicate that local residents generally perceive such small town traits as neighborliness, sense of community, and community pride as no better than average in Pemberton (see Appendix V, Table 5.1) (Reed 1996).

Regardless of whether these changes are viewed positively or negatively, the small town character of the village is extremely important to its residents. According to the attendees at the November 1997 public meeting, the "scale/smallness" of Pemberton is the number one reason that individuals choose to live in the community. Also listed as top priorities were the related qualities of "sense of community" and "community social support" (Town Hall meeting 1997).

Policy

While Pemberton's OCP lists protection of the village character of Pemberton as a fundamental goal, it lacks policies specifically geared toward this objective. A number of related policies, however, do impact the "small town lifestyle and cohesive sense of identity" the plan aims to protect (Village of Pemberton 1994, 8). For example, while the plan encourages both residential and commercial growth, "commercial uses within the downtown will reflect the 'small town' character of the Village in their built form, so that the Village will encourage commercial functions which are diverse, relatively small-scale, and pedestrian-oriented" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 15). The plan also encourages

densification through development of multi-family housing and intensive use of the downtown core. Finally, policies Twenty-nine and Thirty state the Village's intent to support Agricultural Land Reserve designations and "landscaped buffer specifications" within the Village (Village of Pemberton 1994, 23).

As was previously noted, the upcoming 1999 plan will retain the decidedly pro-growth focus of the existing plan. However, rather than the "anything goes" tone of the current plan, the 1999 OCP will likely give more attention to how and where this growth occurs (Interviewee 1 1998).

Implications for Social Sustainability

Growth in the community of Pemberton will continue to impact the town's character, and such changes will also impact the town's potential for social sustainability. In some ways, growth in Pemberton threatens the development of social capital in the community. The expanding numbers of people, decreasing familiarity among local residents, and increasing concerns about crime may diminish trust, inhibit social interactions, and limit residents' desires to remain and raise their children in the community. Given that Pemberton's strength of community identity and pride is already tenuous, the rapid introduction of many new faces in the community has the potential to threaten social sustainability in the village.

On the other hand, some elements of the community's changing character will likely serve to enhance social sustainability. For example, while many associate multi-family dwellings and a dense and bustling commercial core with an urban or suburban lifestyle, such densification can actually serve to promote the development of village character. As one interviewee noted, "A lot of people say, 'this is a little village, and little villages should have single-family dwellings,' (but) if you go into Europe, the villages don't have single-family dwellings" (Interviewee 6 1998). In fact, dense communities offer greater opportunities for the face-to-face interactions that contribute to familiarity and prevent the feelings of isolation that are common with sprawl. In Pemberton, parents in some of the high density

developments have begun meeting in the developments' parks and play areas, thereby increasing the potential for building social support networks and sense of community (Interviewee 2 1998). Furthermore, the Agricultural Land Reserve that surrounds the village will ensure that some measure of the traditionally rural flavor of Pemberton will remain.

Significantly, though respondents in the Reed survey reported moderate levels of neighborliness, social interaction, and community pride (see Appendix V, Table 5.1), the village holds a great deal of potential for the development of social capital. While the village's sense of community may not be enough to satisfy Pembertonites, local residents do seem quite invested in their community. The community boasts sixteen slow pitch softball teams, a number of children's soccer teams, a wide range of newer and more well-established leisure and service clubs, a youth center that attracts as many as fifty youths a night, and a youth council that participates in a variety of community service activities. The community also enjoys its social events; in addition to its highly successful community celebrations, a family dinner and dance sponsored by a Council member a couple of years ago was so successful that "the gymnasium was full and we had to turn people away...they just kept coming and coming" (Interviewee 5 1998). Furthermore, the fact that a full two-thirds of respondents in the Reed survey reported that Pemberton is still a good place to raise children shows a certain level of satisfaction with the community (see Appendix V, Table 5.1). Most importantly, however, residents of Pemberton *value* the community-oriented lifestyle in small towns. The fact that community members rank "sense of community" and "community social support" among their top reasons for living in Pemberton indicates that they will likely be committed to preserving and investing in social capital in their community.

At the heart of social sustainability is local residents' overall levels of satisfaction with the communities in which they live; a dissatisfied population is less likely to remain and raise their children in the community, to take pride in their community, to participate in their community, and to feel committed to the well-being of their community. In Pemberton, community satisfaction is tied to

the village's small town character, and the type of growth that the village is experiencing will likely impact the rural flavor of the community. Furthermore, the fact that people have different preferences and different ideas of what constitutes a small town character will present a challenge to the preservation of community satisfaction. Still, as one interviewee commented, "The community has grown very quickly and I think that there is some catching up to do. I don't think the opportunities have been lost...Really what we have is a large group of people who kind of arrived at once and are still trying to get their bearings" (Interviewee 3 1998).

5.2.5 The Demand for Amenities

Related to the changing community character in Pemberton is a changing demand for amenities.¹² Essential to social sustainability is the satisfaction of local community members with the quality of their experiences in a community, and amenities play a large role in determining this satisfaction.

What constitutes an amenity in a community depends on the values of local residents, and because Pemberton's population has been growing and changing rapidly, determining the values of the local community is a difficult task. However, while the 1996 Reed survey and the results of the November 1997 public meeting do not reveal the wide range of preferences and attitudes toward community amenities, they do give a general indication of the community's priorities and level of satisfaction with existing amenities. At the public meeting, attendees ranked the "natural physical" environment as the second most important reason that people live in Pemberton, and identified "recreation facilities" and "parks/green space" among the community's primary issues (Town Hall meeting 1997). Similarly, respondents to the Reed survey listed preservation of the natural environment, the development of a community center, the development of a community trail system,

¹² For the purposes of this analysis, the term 'amenities' refers to such leisure-related attributes as recreation facilities, cultural activities, natural beauty, and other features that enhance the quality of people's experiences in their communities (see chapter 3). While such services as education, waste disposal, and roads are important to a high quality of life (and are certainly impacted by growth) such issues are outside the scope of this analysis.

and more indoor recreational opportunities among the community's priorities for future development (Reed 1996).¹³

One of the difficulties faced by the Village in addressing the issue of community amenities is that with the changing population, the values and preferences of the community are also changing. As the mayor commented, whereas the community used to fish and hunt for recreation, "people have tended it seems to have drifted into Whistler from large centers, and then they are moving up here as they start families or start their homes, and they like to play tennis, and they like to play ball, and they like their children to have nice parks, and that's fine, that's good, but it's different" (Interviewee 2 1998).

Another issue related to the quality of community amenities is the cost of improving them, and in Pemberton, growth has not provided the Village with the resources necessary to satisfy the increasing demand for amenities. First, the community still has a small tax base, and though the Reed survey and the results of the November town hall meeting indicate a high level of support for improved amenities, referendums to fund new facilities have twice been defeated. Furthermore, according to a developer in the area, the development cost charges collected by the Village for parks have largely been consumed by the infrastructure upgrades necessary to accommodate the growth (Interviewee 7 1998).

Policy

Though the Pemberton OCP includes "preserving/enhancing the spectacular natural environment that defines Pemberton" as one of its fundamental goals, it lists few policies that support this goal (Village of Pemberton 1994, 7). The Village does, however, state its intention to liaise with the Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks and to support its regulations regarding management of environmentally sensitive areas within the Village (including One Mile Lake and its surrounding area –

¹³ Since the survey was conducted, the former high school was converted into a community center.

the largest park within the village). The plan also identifies as Village priorities the development of a community trail system (designed to accommodate pedestrians, hikers, cyclists, and cross-country skiers) and a number of community parks. Finally, as part of its goal "to offer a range of facilities for leisure and recreation activities" geared toward both residents and visitors, the Village states its intent to develop a new recreation center and a museum, and to encourage cultural facilities such as public galleries to locate in the downtown core (Village of Pemberton 1994, 8).

The 1999 OCP will not differ significantly from the current plan in its attention to environmentally sensitive areas, and it will continue to emphasize the development of parks and a trail system within the Village (Pemberton and Area Advisory Planning Committee 1997).

Implications for Social Sustainability

The quality of a community's amenities can contribute to local residents' enjoyment of their community, enhance their sense of commitment and pride in their community, and encourage them to remain in the community despite economic uncertainty. In general, the community reports a high level of satisfaction with those amenities it most highly values - the quality of the natural environment and opportunities for outdoor recreation (see Appendix V, Table 5.2). Furthermore, while community members report a low level of satisfaction with indoor recreation, arts, and cultural activities (see Appendix V, Table 5.2), the Village has made significant strides in these areas since residents were surveyed in 1996. In particular, the former high school was converted to a community center which offers a wide range of activities (including arts and crafts, yoga and martial arts, sports and fitness, theatre, first aid, financial management, a number of youth programs, and many other activities) that rival those of more urban community centers. Activities such as these provide an arena for social interaction between different segments of society, thereby easing the transition of growth and fostering community identity and solidarity. Significantly, the affordability of local amenities for lower income residents does not appear to be an issue in Pemberton. For the most part, the natural environment can

be enjoyed without immediate financial cost, and the cost of other amenities is not prohibitive.

Pemberton residents, according to one interviewee, "all seem to be quite content with their opportunities and their ability to access those opportunities" (Interviewee 2 1998).

Despite such potential, however, the provision of satisfactory community amenities also presents a number of challenges for social sustainability in the community. First, the difficulty of accommodating the widely diverse range of opinions about the appropriate nature and level of local amenities poses a particular problem. For example, while many of the newcomers would prefer to see the same level of services and facilities they enjoyed in their previous communities (such as ball fields, an ice rink, and tennis courts), long-time residents generally view such amenities as unnecessary, unaffordable, and threatening to the rural character of the community (Interviewees 1, 2, 5, and 6 1998). As a member of the APC (and a long-time resident of the community) commented, while long-time residents still out-vote more recent arrivals, the newcomers will soon constitute the majority and will demand a higher level of services, "and the rest will have to pay for it. And that is well understood, and it is splitting the community" (Interviewee 1 1998). In addition to the negative implications for community solidarity, any resolution will leave some element of the population dissatisfied with quality of life in the community.

Additionally, though equity of *access* to amenities is not an issue, equity of *opportunity* may be. Many of the community's amenities have been heavily oriented toward those whose priorities include the natural environment and outdoor recreation, and while these amenities are clearly valued in the community, there is significantly less satisfaction with indoor recreation opportunities and arts and cultural activities. Furthermore, respondents to the Reed survey indicated that programs for seniors, children, and teenagers leave considerable room for improvement.¹⁴ If the needs of these particular segments of the population are neglected, the quality of life in the community will be neither equitable, nor sustainable.

¹⁴ Since the survey was conducted, a highly successful teen center has opened.

Finally, the simultaneous goals of tourist-oriented growth and preservation of the natural environment represent a potential conflict. Pemberton residents (both long-term residents and recent arrivals) clearly value their access to the backcountry, yet increasing utilization of the natural environment threatens its integrity. As one interviewee commented, "It's quite crowded in the backcountry, it's frontcountry now" (Interviewee 3 1998). This trend diminishes the natural environment's value as a local amenity and threatens the rural character of the village that is so highly valued by its residents.¹⁵

Perhaps one of Pemberton's greatest assets is the quality of its local amenities, and these amenities hold significant potential for both economic development and social sustainability. However, with widely diverging opinions about what constitutes an amenity, and with differing goals for the future of the community, investment in community amenities also threatens social solidarity. Moreover, the provision of amenities necessarily involves trade-offs, and while people have no difficulty identifying areas for improvement, they are less willing to endure the negative consequences of a policy strategy. Thus, if local amenities are to foster social sustainability, the diverse views of the public must be identified, and the trade-offs associated with growth must be considered and addressed.

5.3 GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND REGIONAL GOVERNANCE

Regional conditions to a large extent determine patterns of growth at the local level, and the impacts of local level growth reach well beyond municipal boundaries. Growth management strategies that ignore the regional context, then, will likely be ineffective. Furthermore, the sustainability ethos recognizes the interconnected and interdependent nature of the systems that define our world and proffers that growth that impacts other elements of the system in turn impacts the entire system. Thus,

¹⁵ This trend also has significant environmental and economic implications which must be considered in the pursuit of sustainable growth management. However, examination of such issues is outside the scope of this analysis.

if growth management policy is to promote socially sustainable change, it must incorporate a consideration of the regional context in which growth is occurring.

This section considers the regional context for socially sustainable growth management planning in Pemberton and explores the challenges and opportunities for developing a more regional perspective.

5.3.1 The Regional Context for Growth in Pemberton

Pemberton is part of an entire region that is feeling the effects of rapid growth, and regional issues play a large role in determining the community's potential for socially sustainable growth management.

First Nations

One regional issue that is of particular importance to social sustainability in Pemberton is the presence of a band of First Nations people that lives just east of the village. The Mount Currie Band and the Pemberton community have historically been economically, environmentally, and socially linked, and they remain so today. Many Mount Currie children attend school in Pemberton, and many community events include both communities. Band members frequently patronize Pemberton's businesses, and with few employment opportunities available in Mount Currie, they often work in Pemberton as well (Interviewees 4 and 5 1998).

Growth in Pemberton has impacted the Band both positively and negatively. For example, with the growth limitations imposed by the ALR and the floodplain, development (including an industrial park) has spread toward Mount Currie, threatening the integrity of the natural environment and the area's rural character. On the other hand, much needed economic growth has spilled into Mount Currie from Pemberton, and tourism-based businesses have provided many employment opportunities in Pemberton for Band members (Interviewee 4 1998).

Clearly, decisions that impact social sustainability in Pemberton will also impact social sustainability in Mount Currie, yet because they are not within village boundaries, residents of Mount Currie have no local voting rights. Yet, because sustainability is not limited by political boundaries, measures that enhance social sustainability at Mount Currie's expense could not be considered sustainable, and will likely diminish the strength of the local community as well.

Fortunately, the community of Pemberton seems to recognize the need to involve the First Nations in planning processes. At the November meeting, "relationship with First Nations" was listed as a priority issue, and public officials from both communities have recently become more involved in each others' planning processes (Town Hall meeting 1997; Interviewees 4 and 5 1998). Still, the Mount Currie community has not historically been involved in the decision-making processes that impact their lives, "and now to open those doors and build that trust is going to take time" (Interviewee 4 1998).

Farm Land

Growth in Pemberton similarly impacts surrounding farm land and threatens the quality of life for farmers in the area. First, development is spilling over village boundaries and infringing upon the more rural areas of the Valley. Second, the backcountry is often accessed through ALR land, and farmers are seeing more and people hiking, riding horses, walking dogs, and driving all-terrain vehicles and speed boats (often leaving cattle gates open in the process) on and around their property (Interviewee 1 1998). In addition to the obvious environmental issues associated with increased use of the backcountry, farmers' experiences and lifestyles are affected by this trend.

Community is not always defined by jurisdictional boundaries, and farmers are certainly part of the Pemberton community; Valley farmers spend time in the town and utilize its services, and farming has always been a fundamental component of the community's economy and identity. Thus, change that impacts social sustainability in Pemberton also impacts social sustainability for farmers, and vice

versa. Yet, like the Mount Currie Band, farmers who live outside of village boundaries have no voting rights, and therefore have considerably less influence over the decisions that impact them. In addition to the obvious quality of life concerns, a high level of dissatisfaction among farmers would threaten social solidarity for the entire community.

Natural Environment

Another regional issue impacting social sustainability in Pemberton is the preservation of the natural environment. As was previously noted, the natural environment is the primary reason that people choose to live in Pemberton, and damage to this particular amenity would have profound environmental, economic, and social effects. While the Village does not have jurisdiction over the areas outside village boundaries, the environment is a complex system, and environmental damage within the village threatens the integrity of the entire system. Thus, policies that threaten the health of the natural environment around Pemberton will likewise threaten the current and future economic base of the community, as well as local satisfaction with quality of life.

Economic Conditions

Finally, economic conditions are regional in nature, and consideration of the big picture is of fundamental importance to effective local growth management. For example, as was previously noted, the influence of Whistler on the local economy is undeniable, and social sustainability issues (including housing affordability, economic and residential growth, and local amenities) are integrally linked to regional and provincial economic conditions. Just as the recent downturn in the provincial economy has influenced local housing sales, the location of the Olympics in Whistler would likely introduce another boom in Pemberton. Thus, while sustainability requires greater economic self-reliance at the local level, the influence of regional and provincial conditions cannot be ignored in the pursuit of socially sustainable growth management.

5.3.2 Regional Governance in Pemberton

Because many of the issues associated with growth are regional in scope, there is a role (and a need) for regional governance in ensuring local social sustainability. Recognizing this, representatives from the SLRD's municipalities and rural areas (including Pemberton) have already decided to participate in the development of Regional Growth Strategy.¹⁶ Because the Village and the Regional District have somewhat different approaches to growth management, however, developing a plan that conforms to the goals of the RGS will not be without obstacles.

One challenge in adopting a more regional focus in growth management is the fact that the Regional District and the Village have traditionally managed their jurisdictions quite separately, and local planning in the past has generally lacked attention to regional issues (Interviewees 2 and 3 1998). At the heart of this tradition is the perception that the village and the region have a different and conflicting set of needs, and this view has led to some conflict in the past (Interviewees 1 and 2 1998). This perception continues today; as one Village representative commented, "We're dealing with such different issues. I mean, we're dealing with an urban setting and they're dealing with a rural setting, so our goals can't be the same. Our goal is to make this a viable economic, vibrant community here, and theirs is to keep it rural" (Interviewee 4 1998).

The two jurisdictions' differing approaches to growth are evidenced in their official community plans. While the Pemberton OCP and the Fringe Area OCP have fundamental similarities (both aim to provide a high quality of life for residents of the area, to retain the rural atmosphere of the area, to maintain the high quality of the natural environment, and to take advantage of the expanding tourism industry), they also demonstrate differences (Village of Pemberton 1994; Squamish-Lillooet Regional District 1989). For example, the OCP of the Village has an extremely limited environmental focus, except in the recognition of the environment as an economic asset, while the Regional District's

¹⁶ Since it was decided that the RGS would be developed, Pemberton has "temporarily withdrawn our support" pending a commitment by the Ministry of Transportation to conduct a transportation corridor study (Interviewee 2 1998). The RGS process has therefore been postponed until the matter is resolved.

environmental agenda is considerably more broad with a view toward sustainability. Also, while the SLRD emphasizes the concentration of development in the settled portions of the Valley, the Village's plan calls for unlimited residential and commercial growth which will likely continue to spillover into other parts of the region.

Despite these conflicts, the SLRD representative commented that such differences are more practical than philosophical and that the fundamental goal of "well-managed growth" is common to both (Interviewee 2 1998). Furthermore, the relationship between the Village and the Regional District is improving; as the APC representative noted, "I guess the fact that both political arms locally are saying that they're working together is good and probably is changing the way we have been going in the past...hopefully the two bodies will work closely together and the public benefits from it. In that, I think we're headed in the right direction" (Interviewee 1 1998).

5.4 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN GROWTH MANAGEMENT

While the Reed survey reveals that both long-time residents and newcomers to Pemberton agree that recent growth has been too fast, there is little agreement on the ideal type or rate of change for the future (Reed 1996). Everyone is impacted differently by change, and often the consequences of decisions are unanticipated. Furthermore, because growth management involves trade-offs, no strategy will entirely satisfy all interests. However, a public participation process in which all those affected by growth are represented offers the greatest potential for achieving an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of change.

This section outlines the role of the public in decision-making processes in Pemberton and identifies a number of opportunities and challenges for public participation in future growth management.

5.4.1 Public Participation in Pemberton

The role of the public in the development of growth management policy has changed significantly since the 1994 OCP was developed. The OCP that currently guides growth in Pemberton was developed with very little public participation. Produced by the Village and a professional planning consultant from Vancouver (with input from a small citizens' group), the plan reflects the pro-growth sentiments of the community at the time. A draft form was written and three public information sessions were held before the final draft was completed (Interviewees 2 and 6 1998). The low level of public interest in the process is evidenced by the fact that in all of the public information sessions, only one person spoke (Interviewees 2 and 6 1998). As the mayor commented, "It was a different time and a different place in this community...it was a different time and a different place for that OCP" (Interviewee 2 1998).

In reaction to the rapid growth that has occurred in Pemberton since the completion of the 1994 OCP, however, the public has expressed renewed interest in decision-making processes, and the Village has responded by improving the opportunities for involvement. In preparation for the development of the new OCP, a new Advisory Planning Committee was formed (including community members, a First Nations representative, and a SLRD representative) which reviewed the current OCP and produced a set of recommendations for the new plan. Two public meetings were held in the fall of 1997 which addressed growth and growth management in the community, and four community workshops were conducted with the intention of involving citizens in developing solutions to growth issues. The next steps will include at least one more public review, and then passage of the final draft.

5.4.2 Capacities for Public Participation

The political environment in Pemberton is, in many ways, conducive to public involvement in political processes. First, support for the role of planning in addressing growth management is essential to public participation, and in Pemberton (unlike in many small communities), support for

planning processes is quite high. According to the Reed survey, eighty-nine percent of Pemberton residents agree or strongly agree that long-term planning can help manage the negative impacts of growth (Reed 1996, 9). Similarly, at the November public meeting, attendees listed “long-term planning” as one of the most important issues facing the community today (Town Hall meeting 1997).

Second, because many Pemberton residents have relocated from urban environments, they have encountered similar issues or participated in public processes in their previous communities (Interviewees 1 and 4 1998). Thus, they are more highly motivated to address growth issues, and are better versed in planning and public participation processes.

Finally, the Pemberton Village Council and others involved with growth management in the community are committed to serving the community and representing the interests of their constituents. In the interviews conducted for this research, their genuine interest in learning from the public and their efforts to make themselves available to community members were evident. According to a member of the Advisory Planning Committee (and a long-time resident of the community), “There’s an open door policy at the Village and all of its councillors...take the opportunity to talk to (the public)” (Interviewee 1 1998). Moreover, because Pemberton is a small community, decision-makers are highly visible and accessible and, therefore, highly accountable for the impacts of their decisions.

5.4.3 Constraints upon Public Participation

Despite these advantages, the Village also faces a number of challenges in involving its citizenry in its planning processes. The most significant challenge to public participation is apathy among community members. Typically, those who have been involved in public processes in Pemberton are primarily those who have been negatively affected by a decision or a trend (Interviewees 1, 3, 5, and 6 1998). Unfortunately, however, the negative effects of change are not often apparent until the damage has been done. Furthermore, while local residents are happy to express their concerns about an issue,

decision-makers generally find it difficult to involve citizens in the more complex processes of developing solutions. While close to 150 people attended the public meeting in November to identify growth issues and express their opinions on growth, the attendance at the follow-up workshops to discuss solutions ranged from four to twenty-five people. As the APC member commented "I think the present Council has done a wonderful job of advertising, making time available, writing in the newspaper, talking on the street. They've done everything they possibly can, in my opinion, and I think they're disappointed with the results. I certainly am" (Interviewee 1 1998).

Another problematic issue associated with public participation is the uneven representation of interests. As long as certain members of the community are not involved, their interests will not be included in decision-making processes, and the resulting policy will lack legitimate public representation. While few interviewees specified which segments of the population are underrepresented, most acknowledged that a problem exists, and a community-based group called the Healthy Communities Group is currently working to identify these elements of the community (Interviewee 3 1998). While one interviewee indicated that newcomers may be underrepresented (Interviewee 2 1998), others noted that the newcomers tend to be the most vocal about their interests. Indeed, newcomers outnumbered long-time residents at the November public meeting, and according to the Reed survey, newcomers feel considerably more confident about their ability to influence development processes in the community¹⁷ (Town Hall meeting 1997; Reed 1996).

Fundamental to inclusive growth management planning is the participation of an informed citizenry, and public education presents one of the most difficult challenges to participatory planning. While many Pemberton residents have some awareness of growth management issues, much of the community is unaware of the trade-offs associated with growth, the consequences of various planning strategies, and the potential effects of change on others in the community. The key to creating this

¹⁷ While thirty-six percent of newcomers agreed with the statement that residents have little control over development processes in Pemberton, sixty-one percent of long-time residents agreed with the statement (Reed 1996, 13).

awareness is communication between the stakeholders and public education, but such measures cannot be forced on an uninterested population.

Finally, the limited resources of the Village present a significant obstacle to effective public participation. Public participation processes (and the public education efforts that are necessary to make them effective) are time-consuming and costly, and growth management is certainly not the only issue currently requiring the attention of the Village. With a limited staff and a small tax base, the Village may not have the resources to commit the time and effort necessary to produce truly effective public participation processes.

Despite these challenges, growth management strategies designed without the input of those affected by the changes occurring in the community will not adequately and equitably represent the needs of the community and will not promote socially sustainable change.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Though the term 'social sustainability' is relatively new, the effects of growth on equity, social capital, and quality of life have long been recognized. Concerns about the impacts of a changing social and economic character on Pemberton were articulated in a 1982 planning report, written as Pemberton first began to feel the effects of Whistler's growth.

"As further residential subdivisions are developed in the Village, the Village will gradually take on a more suburban character as opposed to the existing rural service centre. The pace of activity in Pemberton will appear to pick up. Residents will be less familiar with everyone they meet on the street, and the close knit community 'feeling' will be diminished...Less reliance will be placed upon informal shared responsibilities and the new residents will increasingly look to the Village itself to take an active part in providing or encouraging this higher level of service. This will be a gradual change and will not be noticed immediately by the existing residents of Pemberton. Indeed it will be considered by most as 'modernizing' or bringing the level of service up to what it should be. The familiarity, friendliness, self-reliant, 'out of the main stream' rural village character that has been fostered by both Pemberton's relative isolation and small size will begin to change slightly. The more the population of Pemberton grows, the greater the change" (William Graham Consultants 1982, section 4.7).

These issues are strikingly similar to the issues facing the community today. The key to addressing such issues is a carefully considered growth management plan, but meeting the often conflicting needs of the community in a way that is socially sustainable is indeed a formidable challenge. With the acknowledgement of the trade-offs associated with growth, the involvement of all those impacted by growth, and the consideration of the broad range of issues impacting growth in the community, however, social networks can be maintained, the quality of community amenities can be ensured, and the costs and benefits of change can be distributed evenly throughout the population.

Chapter Six Conclusions and Recommendations

The debate is not about sprawling versus compact form, high versus low density, or environmental protection versus economic development. These polarities cast the issue in a simple way that glosses over the complexity of life today...A better measure for growth is community. How does growth contribute to the community it is in? Is it compatible? Or destructive?" (Neuman 1991, 345).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As Chinitz (1990, 3) writes, "Unmanaged growth has two manifestations. The first is USING THE WRONG LAND...The second is USING THE LAND IN THE WRONG WAY." Because the consequences of unmanaged growth are numerous and wide-ranging, and because the market is the primary determinant of where growth occurs, the relevant question is not *whether* to manage growth, but *how* to manage growth. As was noted in Chapter Two, growth management does not necessarily involve limiting growth; rather, in allowing communities to control the pace, type, and location of growth within a community, it "offers communities at least the possibility of retaining their traditional values where the unfettered market cannot" (Larmer and Bing 1994, 7).

This analysis explores the impact of rapid growth on social sustainability in the community of Pemberton, BC, and considers the lessons to be learned about appropriate and socially sustainable directions for future change. Throughout the study, the exigency of identifying the trade-offs associated with change, the importance of incorporating the public into planning processes, and the need for considering the regional context in the design of growth management strategies are recurring themes. Thus, while popular belief states that "the Village can't afford to plan" (Interviewee 1 1998), growth that occurs without consideration of these factors will ultimately generate greater, and possibly irreversible, costs.

This chapter revisits the research questions posed in Chapter One, considers possible policy directions that would contribute to more socially sustainable growth management in the future,

discusses the role that planning and planners can play in this process, and identifies opportunities for further research.

6.2 REVIEWING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section revisits the four research questions that were posed in Chapter 1, summarizing the effect of growth on social sustainability in Pemberton, the degree to which growth management policy reflects community values, and the extent to which regional conditions are addressed in the policy. Further, it considers the lessons for future growth management that are contained within this analysis.

1. In what ways is Pemberton's growth management policy likely to affect issues of social sustainability in the community?

No one can predict with certainty the effects of future change. Analysis of Pemberton's recent growth, however, indicates that future change in the community is likely to impact social sustainability in a number of ways. First, the community's changing economic base (from resource town to resort town) is likely to have both positive and negative effects. While tourism development can provide job opportunities, foster locally-owned businesses, capture external dollars, and improve local amenities, it can also open the community to outside control, thereby reducing self-reliance and self-determination, providing less stable and lower paying jobs, neglecting local needs, displacing local residents, and creating an inequitable distribution of costs and benefits. With its natural setting and its location near Whistler, Pemberton will likely succeed in its efforts to attract tourism. If social sustainability is to be preserved through the transition, measures must be taken to create a more stable and resilient economic base and enhance local control.

Pemberton's increasing imbalance of economic and residential growth presents another challenge for social sustainability in the community. The pronounced lack of local employment encourages commuting and discourages utilization of local services and facilities, thereby limiting face-to-face contact between community members and inhibiting the development of mutual support

networks. Council has addressed this imbalance through its stated support for commercial development. However, with preferred services and facilities in nearby Whistler, and with a small population base in Pemberton, the local market is insufficient for extensive commercial development. Furthermore, increased commercial development threatens the village character that local residents so highly value. Pemberton, then, is in need of a new strategy, one that strengthens the community's economic base without relying on residential growth and compromising the values of local residents.

Housing affordability is one of the most pressing growth issues facing Pemberton today, and the problem has significant implications for the preservation of equity and social capital. Renters, long-time residents, and families are particularly vulnerable to housing affordability issues in Pemberton, and as these groups are compelled to leave the community, long standing social networks are disrupted. Those that remain face undue stress that threatens social cohesion and quality of life. Because housing costs are primarily determined by demand, the provision of affordable housing will be a challenge if growth continues. Furthermore, one of the aims of social sustainability is development that reflects the desires and values of community members, and the community for the most part values low density single-family dwellings, which are generally less affordable and less conducive to the development of social capital. While resistance to single-family dwellings may be waning, housing affordability remains a particular problem in Pemberton, and if growth resumes, the situation will worsen. Thus, specific measures must be taken to ensure equitable access to affordable housing in Pemberton now and in the future.

Because the village character of Pemberton is highly valued by local residents, its preservation is essential to social sustainability in the community. With the recent growth, Pemberton is experiencing an increasing population, more traffic and congestion, higher densities, and more urban stores and services. Whether these changes alter the community's village character and whether they improve or destroy the town's quality of life are highly subjective questions. Certainly, population growth has the potential to threaten Pemberton's sense of community. But as one interviewee noted,

“Sense of community is something you have to work on” (Interviewee 4 1998), and with the community’s commitment to retaining social support networks and sense of community, growth does not have to destroy the character of the village.

Finally, satisfaction with local amenities is fundamental to social sustainability, and the changing demand for amenities in Pemberton presents a challenge for the community. The most highly valued local amenity in Pemberton, and the primary reason people choose to live in that community, is the natural environment. Currently, community members are quite satisfied with the quality and accessibility of the natural environment, but if resort-related growth continues, this resource will be strained, and social sustainability may be compromised. While residents are less satisfied with indoor recreation opportunities and arts and cultural activities, the recent opening of the community center provides opportunities for local residents to enjoy their community and build social capital. On the other hand, many of the community’s long-time residents are opposed to the financial and social costs of such changes, and the conflict is straining social relations and threatening social solidarity. It is in this area in particular that the community seems most split, highlighting the need for the articulation of interests and the full participation of the community in determining the level and type of amenities that result from growth.

2. To what extent does the community’s growth management policy include a regional perspective?

To a large extent, local level growth management policy in Pemberton has neglected the regional context. While some in the community have adopted the belief that growth management is futile since Whistler-related growth is inevitable (Interviewee 3 1998), the Advisory Planning Committee and the Council recognize the need to be prepared for such growth. What seems to be lacking, however, is the recognition that while regional conditions will to a large degree determine the extent of growth in Pemberton, the community can exercise control over how and where that growth occurs. Other regional issues, such as the impacts of local change on First Nations, the natural environment, and farm

land are mentioned as issues of import, but related policies are limited to cursory statements of good intent. Furthermore, communications between the two jurisdictions, while not particularly antagonistic, are not as open as they could be, and the perception (especially at the local level) that they have quite different goals hinders prospects for collaborative planning efforts.

Because regional sustainability is inseparable from local sustainability, and because a Regional Growth Strategy for the SLRD is imminent, these issues will have to be considered and addressed in the near future. In order to facilitate this process, communications between the Regional District and the Village must be improved, common goals and interests must be identified, and points of potential conflict must be considered and addressed. Likewise, because the needs of Pemberton residents, First Nations, farmers, and the natural environment will undoubtedly conflict in some ways, all stakeholders must be brought to the table, and solutions that fairly meet each party's needs to the greatest extent possible must be sought. In addition to fostering more socially sustainable solutions, such processes will also raise awareness about the impacts of change, encourage a sense of common purpose, and enhance a broader sense of community.

3. To what extent does Pemberton's growth management policy reflect the desires of the community members?

Until recently, growth management decisions in Pemberton were made by community leaders with very little input from local residents. While the lack of interest in the development of the 1994 OCP indicated a certain level of satisfaction among local residents, the recent public outcry shows that as conditions in the community have changed, and as the population itself has changed, the Village's pro-growth stand no longer reflects the community's interests and values. As a result, Council has greatly improved opportunities for participation in policy design, and public involvement in growth management has increased. Local residents, however, have primarily shown an interest in issuing complaints and identifying preferred futures, with very little interest in the more complex tasks associated with developing solutions, including addressing trade-offs and balancing competing

interests. While such complexity makes public participation processes difficult, it is precisely because growth management involves so many stakeholders that public participation in policy development is necessary. Furthermore, the fact that the community, and its growth goals, are changing rapidly highlights the need for participation in the regular evaluation, and possible revision, of policy.

In designing participatory planning processes, it is important to distinguish between systems that *encourage* public participation and those that *ensure* public participation, and to recognize the importance of the latter. Rather than coercing community members to participate, this requires a commitment on the part of policy makers that policy will embody the goals and priorities of the public. While the Village has certainly provided opportunities for involvement, it has not yet found a way to ensure participation, especially in the later stages of policy development and monitoring. Yet, without the insurance of public input throughout the entire process (from visioning, to policy design and implementation, to monitoring and evaluation), the resulting strategy will not equitably reflect the range community needs and values.

4. Finally, what lessons can be derived from an analysis of the growth management experiences of Pemberton?

Ultimately, the road to sustainability requires a complete renovation of our political, social, and economic systems, but until such time as that renovation occurs, there is a role for policy in the development and preservation of equity, social capital, and quality of life. This section identifies some of the transitional and long-term policy directions that are necessary in order to preserve social sustainability in the face of change in Pemberton. Additionally, this section explores the extent to which the lessons contained within this analysis are applicable to other small towns, and the contributions they make to the literature on small town growth management.

Strategies for Socially Sustainable Growth Management in Pemberton

Because specific policies should be determined by community members, only general strategies are suggested here. Furthermore, while the focus is on those strategies that promote social sustainability, only those that also support (or at least do not compromise) economic and environmental sustainability are explored.

1. strengthen social planning in growth management

The British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1993b, 44) argues the importance of “defining and incorporating a mandate for considering social factors in local planning for growth and development.” Without proactive attention to the social well-being of a community, any strategy for managing growth and change in a community will be neither complete nor sustainable. At the heart of social planning is full cost social accounting; while the benefits of full cost accounting to a community’s economic and environmental health have long been recognized (Rees 1994), the full and complete range of social costs that result from change must also be considered and addressed if growth is to be managed sustainably. The community of Aspen, for example, is considering the implementation of social cost charges as a means of “making future development pay for its impact on human services” (Urquhart 1996).¹⁸

2. avoid growth limiting legislation at this time

Despite the fact that growth management encompasses a range of issues and strategies, the question of *limiting* growth is often foremost in people’s minds. In Pemberton, this issue is central to growth management because while the Council has no intention of instituting growth limiting legislation, the population has sent a clear message that they want growth stopped. However, the results of this analysis indicate that instituting growth limits at this time would not be the best strategy.

¹⁸ Because such measures, like traditional development cost charges, can contribute to rising housing costs, they must be implemented in conjunction with affordable housing measures if they are to have equitable results.

First, growth has recently slowed nearly to a halt, and despite a pro-growth plan, the extent of future growth is uncertain. Second, the community is currently under-commercialized and lacks the population base to support new commercial development. Third, the presence of the floodplain, the mountain terrain, and the ALR in the area already serves as an urban growth boundary, with all the costs and benefits that encompasses. Finally, if regional growth continues, growth limits would put pressure on the housing market and redirect growth to other, possibly less appropriate, areas of the region.

On the other hand, the community would generally prefer a slower pace of growth than it has experienced in recent years and would support growth limiting legislation (Reed 1996; Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6). Furthermore, if rapid growth in the region resumes, the regional context for growth will have to be considered, and directing growth to other existing communities may be the most regionally appropriate strategy. Finally, with certain measures (described later in this section), the community may be able to develop a stronger economic base without a dramatic increase in population. Thus, there may be a time in the near future when the institution of growth limits in the community would be appropriate.

3. ensure monitoring and evaluation of growth management strategies

Policy that promotes sustainability must ensure a community's capacity to meet the current and future needs of its residents even within unpredictable external circumstances. Growth in Pemberton has taken two unanticipated turns since the 1994 OCP was implemented: first, growth far exceeded expectation, inciting dissatisfaction among residents; then it abruptly stalled. The plan was not designed to accommodate such variation, and social sustainability has been threatened as a result. In order to ensure more resilient growth management policy, growth management strategies must be regularly revisited: the impacts of change must be determined, the goals of the community must be re-established, and policies must be adapted to reflect changing conditions and values. The British

Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1993d) recommends an on-going process of information gathering (assessing the state of sustainability), communication (promoting and measuring public awareness), analysis of governance (reviewing decision-making processes), and action (reviewing policy and program changes). While such monitoring and evaluation processes may be expensive, the results are ultimately less costly than reactively attempting to undo the environmental, economic, and social damage caused by inappropriate or unmanaged growth.

4. promote a diversity of industries

In order to create a more stable and resilient economic base, the Village must expand the range of local employment opportunities, minimize some of the negative consequences of tourism development, reduce the imbalance of economic and residential growth, and promote a diversity of industries in Pemberton. To these ends, service and value-added industries create more jobs per unit of resource than do primary industries, while placing minimal pressure on the natural environment (British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1993a; Rees 1994). Industries that should be considered are education, advanced technology, business and financial services, non-extractive resource-related industries (such as wildlife biology, silviculture, and permaculture), and other more economically and environmentally sustainable industries that do not require an urban setting. In order to attract these industries, incentives such as favorable zoning should be considered, and marketing strategies that promote the community's suitability for such industries should be developed. Additionally, despite pressure for residential building, care must be taken to reserve land for the development of these industries, and local support services should be encouraged.

5. support and encourage locally-owned businesses

In addition to preventing leakages, locally-owned businesses provide local employment opportunities, reduce the imbalance of residential and economic growth, enhance self-reliance and

self-determination, and contribute to a sense of community identity. In order to encourage new businesses, and retain existing ones, the Village should institute a 'buy local' program to raise awareness about the importance of supporting local businesses. Additionally, opportunities to develop import substitution services should be identified and encouraged, and the Village should consider the development of a local exchange trading system (LETS). Finally, entrepreneurial and cooperative business training programs should be offered through the community center. In particular, programs geared toward women entrepreneurs would contribute to increasing equity in the community.

6. ensure the provision of affordable housing

Ensuring a stock of housing that is affordable not only for Whistler's overflow, but for long-time residents and families of various income levels can preserve social networks, maintain diversity, and promote equity within the community. Affordable housing can be preserved through the institution of regulations that require a certain percentage of new units to be affordable to local residents, and points systems that reward the development of multi-family dwellings (which tend to be more affordable).¹⁹ The community of Boulder, Colorado, has been able to maintain a healthy stock of affordable housing by adopting such measures despite intense demand, legislative growth limits, and accelerating housing costs (Miller 1986).²⁰ In addition to such measures, "housing advocacy groups, local government and corporate interests should jointly explore the potential of resident-designed and managed housing options, such as 'co-housing' initiatives, within their communities" (British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1993c, 92).

¹⁹ Though Pemberton residents are resistant to dense development, the fact that sales of multi-family units are still "ticking along" while sales of single family housing have all but stopped (Interviewee 7 1998) indicates that affordability issues outweigh preferences for single-family housing types.

²⁰ Despite Boulder's success in retaining affordable housing, residents of the community have been paying more money for less space since growth limits were instituted; however, considering the alternative -- the complete elimination of affordable housing -- Boulder's strategy is generally viewed as a success (Miller 1986).

7. encourage year-round residence in the community

As the tourism industry expands, the second home phenomenon will grow, threatening sense of community, social solidarity, and the development of social networks in the community.

Regulations that require home-buyers to live in their homes or to rent only to year round residents can counter the negative social impacts of second homes and part time residence, and can provide year round housing for renting households. The former Commissioner for Pitkin County believes that he erred two decades ago by not imposing such a regulation in Aspen, and that the results of his decision are destroying the town today (Condon 1996).

8. promote dense development

In addition to contributing to more affordable housing, dense development patterns provide greater opportunities for face-to-face interactions, contribute to a sense of community, retain community character, and preserve the surrounding natural environment. Furthermore, as commuting times are reduced, local residents have more time for social and political activities and greater opportunities for community-building. Densification can be promoted through zoning that promotes redevelopment of 'derelict' land within urban boundaries, supports in-fill housing (such as secondary suites, granny suites, and plot division), and encourages businesses to locate in the town core. While the establishment of urban growth boundaries is a common densification strategy, such a measure is inappropriate in Pemberton given the existing spatial limits to growth. Because dense development can contribute to rising housing costs and the elimination of open space within the town core, densification strategies must be accompanied by policies that ensure affordable housing and the preservation of open space.

9. develop community amenities

Development of a town's amenities can improve the quality of life, provide arenas for community-building, and enhance residents' long-term commitments to their community. Because Pemberton residents primarily value the quality of the natural environment, the small town character of the village, and opportunities for recreation, arts and cultural activities, policy should focus on these areas. In particular, policies related to the preservation of the natural environment must be expanded, and development cost charges must be redirected or increased to cover the development of parks and open space.²¹ In addition, the development of community designed and maintained gardens and parks should be explored as an option that would simultaneously increase open space and enhance community spirit and pride. Furthermore, greater efforts must be made to inform local residents about recreation, arts, and cultural activities that exist in the community, and opportunities must be expanded to better suit community preferences. Because the improvement of community amenities generally requires money, alternative funding possibilities, such as public-private partnerships and joint funding with other levels of government, should be explored.

10. ensure public participation in *all* aspects of growth management

Rees (1994) argues that political stability is necessary for social sustainability, and that political stability is achieved through full participation of the public. Because growth involves so many stakeholders, and because local growth conditions can change rapidly, effective growth management requires public involvement in *all* aspects of planning, including identifying key stakeholders and issues, vision-building, policy design, and evaluation and monitoring (Innes 1992; Guevara 1996). In order to ensure public participation in these processes, a strategic mandate for public participation must be included as an integral component of the growth management strategy. Public participation in

²¹ Again, such measures contribute to rising housing costs and must, therefore, be accompanied by affordable housing measures.

decision-making is commonly achieved through advisory committees, public meetings, round tables, policy design workshops, and other processes.

11. promote mutual learning in the development of growth strategies

Innes (1992, 440) argues that effective participatory growth management planning requires “a process of mutual learning to create a shared conception of the intent of growth management and to agree on specific ways to implement it.” Such mutual learning has three primary components:

First, the public must be informed and educated about the planning processes that define their communities, the potential impacts of planning policies, and the trade-offs associated with particular strategies. In Pemberton, public education has occurred largely as opportunities have presented themselves: at public meetings called for other purposes, when residents visit town hall, and during informal or chance meetings with community leaders. While the Council’s openness and approachability is commendable, adequately informing the public requires more deliberate efforts. Such efforts can occur in the form of public meetings and information sessions held for the express purpose of educating public.

Second, decision-makers must seek to understand public priorities and values. Community leaders must be willing to gain knowledge and understanding from local residents about their goals, aspirations, fears, and unique experiences. Again, while Pemberton’s decision-makers have made themselves available and have provided opportunities for local residents to express themselves, they have yet to hear from the broad range of interests in the community. This can be accomplished through such processes as public surveys, focus groups, open houses, and the participation of community members in advisory committees.

Third, processes in which the various stakeholders have the opportunity to share knowledge, learn from one another, and identify common goals result in growth management decisions that more equitably reflect the varied interests of the community. Moreover, such processes build understanding

and tolerance among stakeholders, thereby strengthening social solidarity and sense of community. Because some of the stakeholders are regional, mutual learning also contributes to more regionally focused policy and improves communications between regional and local governments. Mutual learning among interests can be promoted through such multi-stakeholder processes as round tables, community workshops, public meetings, and open houses.

12. involve the community's youth in planning processes

As Cleveland and Hansen (1994, 9) write, "Frequently, youth is the most underrepresented social element in a community. Gaining the support of the local youth in order to get a healthy cross section of community needs and opinions is a necessity for developing a fully realized comprehensive plan since they will eventually have to live with it." Pemberton's youth should therefore be equally informed and involved in growth management processes. While efforts to involve youth in growth management in Sedro-Woolley, Washington, were ineffective due to lack of interest (Cleveland and Hansen 1994), Pemberton has a particularly active and involved youth community which would be more likely to support such processes. Not only would the results be more equitable, but the youth community could prove to be a valuable resource for the Council's efforts.

13. utilize media tools and strategies

Because local residents cannot be coerced to participate, media plays an important role in raising awareness and soliciting participation in decision-making processes. Cleveland and Hansen (1994, 9) attribute the success of the public participation process in Sedro-Woolley to a "massive publicity" effort. In addition to hanging posters and delivering flyers to homes, organizers designed a campaign logo, issued press releases, distributed newspaper inserts, talked with people on the street, and issued public service announcements on the radio (Cleveland and Hansen 1994).

14. seek alternative funding arrangements

Many of the processes suggested here require financial and personnel resources with which Pemberton is not equipped. Thus, in pursuing these strategies, the Village should encourage community voluntarism, explore partnership arrangements with regional and provincial governments, and seek grants (especially in funding community-building programs). In addition, the Village should solicit assistance from graduate students who would benefit from real-life planning experience, a strategy that proved highly successful in the Sedro-Woolley case (Cleveland and Hansen 1994).

Contributions to the Literature on Small Town Growth Management

Because Pemberton is a unique community with a particular history and identity, the specific policy directions listed above are not necessarily generalizable; for example, strategies designed to encourage commercial development may not be appropriate in other communities experiencing rapid growth, while limits to growth may be necessary. Still, analysis of the Pemberton case contains lessons that contribute to the general understanding of small town growth management.

Rather than a generalizable model for addressing social sustainability issues, this analysis is intended to show the range of ways in which growth and development can impact a small town's equity, social capital, and quality of life. Because the exact ways in which a town is impacted by change depends on the particular characteristics of the community, the policies put forth in this thesis may not be appropriate for other small towns. However, Pemberton's growth issues will likely be familiar to many small and rapidly growing towns, and the recommendations put forth in this analysis can provide a framework for the development of socially sustainable and locally appropriate policies in these communities.

Furthermore, the Pemberton analysis both refutes and confirms what is contained in the existing small town growth management literature. Contrary to the literature, Pemberton residents have not shown themselves to be resistant to planning and growth management processes,

inexperienced and unaware of growth issues, divided on the issue of slowing growth, and/or resistant to change. As would be expected from reading the literature, however, rapid growth in Pemberton has resulted in accelerating housing costs, alienation of long-time residents, and clashing values between different segments of the population. Further, like many small towns, Pemberton faces the challenges of limited resources and lack of interest in developing planning solutions to growth management problems. Most importantly, however, the Pemberton case confirms Daniels et al's (1995) argument that each small town is unique and must be planned according to its particular needs and capacities.

Additionally, the analysis contributes a social sustainability component to the literature on small town growth management. First, the case study clearly illustrates the broad range of impacts that growth and change can have on local social sustainability, and the importance of specifically addressing such issues in planning policy. Further, it demonstrates the necessity of involving the public in the development and implementation of growth management policy and the importance of considering the regional context. Finally, it illustrates the need for proactive and long-term planning policy with the flexibility to adapt to changing and unpredictable conditions.

6.3 THE ROLE OF PLANNING IN SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE GROWTH MANAGEMENT

Community planning, as the vehicle through which growth management policy is designed and implemented, has a fundamentally important role in growth management planning. As Daniels (1995, 1-2) writes, "*Community Planning* begins with learning how to care for your town, its people, and those generations yet to be born. It is also learning to develop a respect for the limited world in which we live. Community plans and planning affect peoples' lives. Tough choices must be made about the natural, man-made, and financial resources in the community. Learning to care means that you have adopted an attitude of fairness, that you listen to the opinions of others, and that you are willing to make compromises to ensure equal treatment."

Community planning based on caring requires foresight, proactive action, and the flexibility to adapt to changing and unpredictable circumstances. Planning processes based on caring must involve local residents; beyond the generation of a community wish list, growth management planning must involve stakeholders in building a community vision, designing and implementing policy, and monitoring and evaluating the impacts and directions of policy. In short, “good community planning results from common sense and an orderly, open approach to finding out local needs, setting goals and priorities, and taking action” (Daniels et al 1995, ix).

The role of the planner, then, is to facilitate this process. Gunton (1984, 347) writes “As practitioners, should we not live up to the enlightened desires of society? And do our share to create responsible visions for community that can enlighten and bring about those desires?” However, no single strategy exists for contributing in this way to positive change, and there are as many approaches to planning as there are planners. While some feel the planner’s job is to impart technical information, others feel it is to advocate for the interests of the underrepresented, and still other others believe that it is to enforce government regulations. Gunton (1984) argues that none of these definitions is complete, and that the appropriate role of the planner depends on the nature of the problem at hand. This is particularly true for small town planners who “do a little of everything,” and while the breadth and visibility of the small town planner’s job might make the role more difficult, it can also make it more rewarding (Interviewee 6 1998). Regardless of the nature of the problem at hand, a planner involved with small town growth management must be able to educate and advise, to listen and learn, and to bring together the multitude of interests affected by growth and growth management.

6.4 OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While review of the Pemberton case study is one step toward understanding the role of growth management in planning for socially sustainable change, it also reveals a number of opportunities for future research. First, while quality of life issues in this study refer to community amenities such as

recreation and the natural environment, other characteristics (such as education, health care, infrastructure, and transportation) also contribute to the quality of people's experiences in their communities. If growth is to be socially sustainable, the full range of social costs and benefits must be researched and incorporated into policy decisions. Second, if social sustainability is to be maintained in the face of growth, some method of measuring social well-being must be developed. Thus, the field of growth management would benefit from a study of the use of social indicators in monitoring socially sustainable change. Third, since little research has been conducted on the dynamics and impacts of rapid growth in small towns, and since many small communities in North America are facing rapid growth, further research in this area is needed. In particular, studies of the effects of resort-related spillover growth on communities such as Rifle, Colorado (near Aspen), and Basalt, Colorado (near Vail), would be useful. Fourth, while the roles of regional and provincial governments are outside the scope of this paper, there is certainly a need for extra-local governance and greater inter-governmental integration in sustainable growth management. Thus, the ways in which various levels of government can contribute to more sustainable growth management must be explored. Finally, the pursuit of sustainability requires a holistic and integrated focus, and a more complete understanding of economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable growth management -- and the linkages between them -- must be achieved.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Sustainable growth management requires that a community indefinitely retain its capacity for environmental, economic, and social health. Because social sustainability is the most difficult to measure, it is often neglected, yet growth (or decline) that compromises the well-being of local residents is neither complete nor sustainable.

This analysis explores the social component of sustainable growth management and reveals the importance of healthy social conditions to long-term community stability. In Pemberton, what has

enabled the community to survive through numerous cycles of economic hardship has been the strength of its social support networks, a satisfying quality of life, and the commitment of local residents to their community. Regardless of whether growth resumes in Pemberton, care must be taken to ensure that the community retains these qualities and that the public participates fully in the policy decisions that direct change in the community.

Fundamental to effective small town growth management, then, is the full incorporation of social factors into planning and policy development. Growth management must be pursued in such a way that equity, social capital, and quality of life are preserved to the greatest extent possible, and policy choices must reflect community priorities and values. This approach will enable small towns to withstand the fluctuations that define the North American economy, and will contribute to “a healthy and dynamic community life” in which local residents “lead lives of dignity and fulfillment” (Fraser Basin Management Program et al 1995, 6).

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***APPENDIX I* INTERVIEWEES AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

The list of interviewees was selected with consultation from those involved in growth management planning in Pemberton. With the goal of interviewing at least one representative from each decision-making body in Pemberton, the following list was compiled:

Interviewee 1

Rick Staehli, Pemberton Advisory Planning Committee Member
June 16, 1998

Interviewee 2

Catherine McLeod, Mayor of Pemberton
June 17, 1998

Interviewee 3

Squamish-Lillooet Regional District Representative
June 17, 1998

Interviewee 4

Bryan Kirk, Administrator, Village of Pemberton
June 17, 1998

Interviewee 5

Elinor Warner, Councillor, Village of Pemberton
June 17, 1998

Interviewee 6

Planner
July 30, 1998

Interviewee 7

Developer
July 30, 1998

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following interview questions were designed with the intention of ascertaining the impacts of growth and development on social conditions in the community, the role of the regional context in determining local growth conditions, and the role of the public in growth management planning.

THE CONTEXT - GROWTH IN THE COMMUNITY

1. What community attributes do you think are enticing people to relocate to Pemberton?
2. In what ways has growth in the last five years affected the community (both positively and negatively)? Specifically, what has the impact of growth been on:
 - housing conditions
 - employment conditions

- distribution of wealth
 - services and facilities (banking, recreation, libraries, schools) including cost
 - amenities (entertainment, natural environment)
 - sense of community
 - social support services/social networks
 - town character
 - rates of in-migration and out-migration
 - Are there any other factors that are positively or negatively influencing the overall quality of life in the community?
3. Overall, do you think Pemberton residents are satisfied with the quality of life in the community?
 4. To what extent are regional growth conditions affecting growth and growth management in the community?

THE POLICY - THE CURRENT STRATEGY FOR MANAGING GROWTH

5. How would you describe the current growth management strategy (e.g. pro-growth, growth limiting)?
6. What do you see as the trade-offs of the current growth management strategy (e.g., is sense of community sacrificed in the pursuit of economic development? Is economic development sacrificed in order to preserve open space)?
7. To what extent and in what ways have the negative consequences of the strategy been considered and addressed in the policy (e.g., impact fees, guaranteed affordable housing, mandatory parks)?

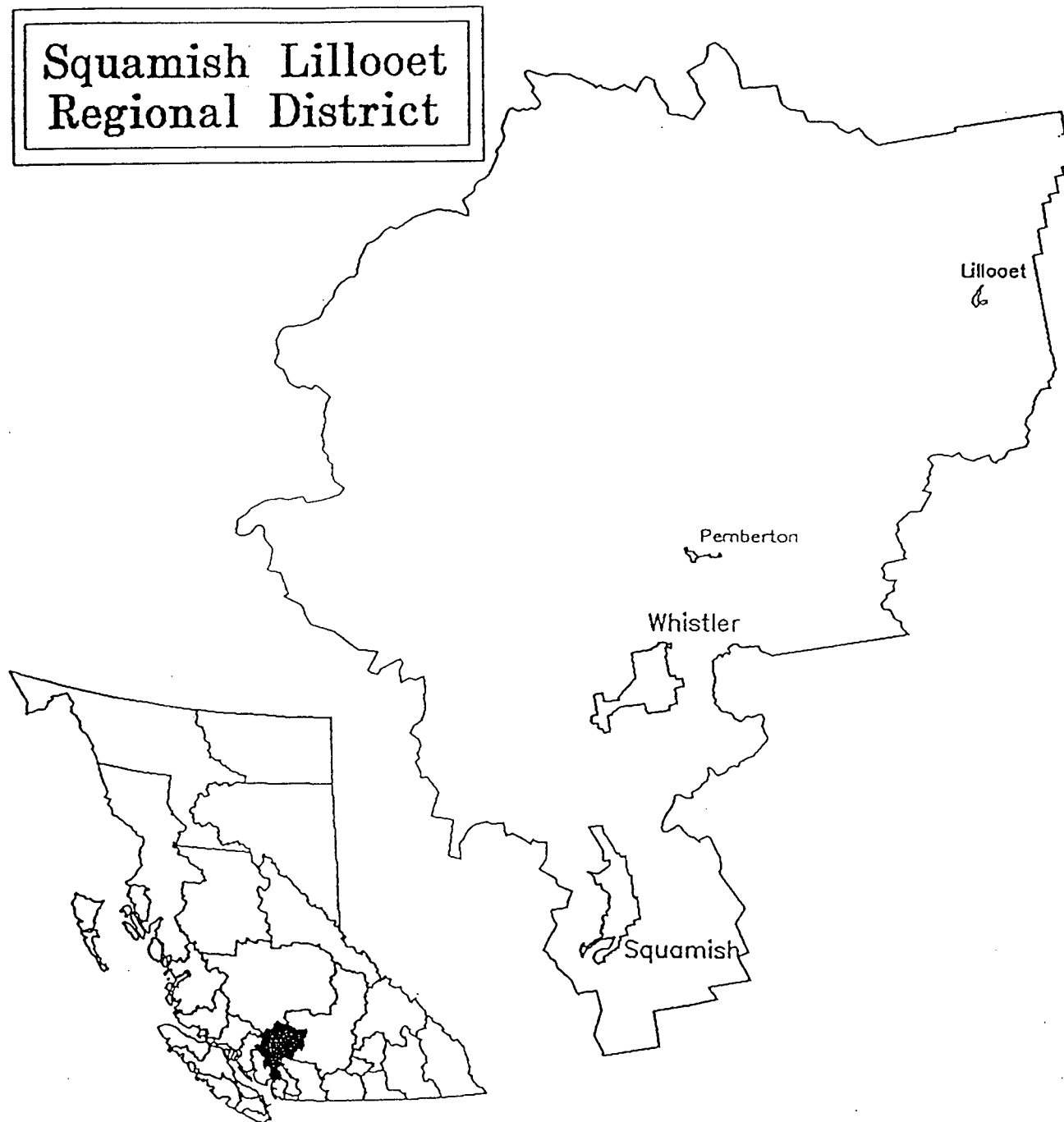
THE PROCESS - DEVELOPING A GROWTH MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

8. What role does the Advisory Planning Committee play in developing growth management policy?
9. What sort of process was employed in creating the *current* growth management policy?
10. To what extent and in what ways were community members involved in framing the community's *current* growth management strategy?
11. What challenges do the Council and the Planning Advisory Committee face in trying to involve community members in growth management policy development?
12. What do you see as the growth goals of community residents?
13. Do you think that these goals differ from those of the Council (or the APC)?
14. Do newcomers and the long-time residents view growth differently? In what ways?
15. Who do you see as the primary stakeholders in the process of developing growth management policy?
16. What conflicts (if any) do you see between them?
17. Are there any groups in the community who are not participating in the process or whose interests are not being met regarding growth? If so, why?

THE FUTURE - CURRENT PROCESSES FOR FUTURE POLICY

18. What challenges are you facing (related to growth management) in developing the 1999 OCP?
19. In what ways has the process of developing the 1999 OCP differed from the last?
20. In what ways do you think the processes of developing growth management policy could be improved in Pemberton?
21. Does the prospect of an RGS change the way you approach growth management planning in the community? In what ways?
22. What obstacles do you foresee in developing a growth management policy that conforms more closely to that of the Regional District?

APPENDIX II MAP OF PEMBERTON AND THE SQUAMISH-LILLOOET REGIONAL DISTRICT



Adapted from: BC Stats 1988, 8.

***APPENDIX III* THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT FOR GROWTH MANAGEMENT IN PEMBERTON, BC**

GROWTH MANAGEMENT PLANNING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

With a population increasing by 100,000 people per year in British Columbia, growth management is a significant issue in provincial level as well as local level planning (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995a, 1). As the Province's population nears four million, the development of carefully considered growth management strategies is an increasingly critical factor in the maintenance and promotion of environmental and social sustainability, liveable communities, affordable housing, mobility, and preservation of green space (Urban Development Institute 1991). Furthermore, because the implications of growth reach beyond municipal boundaries, regional level planning efforts are taking on greater significance in provincial and local level growth management. The Municipal Act and the Growth Strategies Act are two key pieces of legislation impacting growth management planning at both the provincial and local levels in British Columbia.

The Municipal Act and Official Community Plans

The Municipal Act of 1979 gives municipal governments the authority to regulate land use and the location and use of buildings and structures. Furthermore, it mandates that all municipal powers, including those related to land use and growth management planning, be exercised by the municipal council.

Official Community Plans

Significantly, Part 26 of the Act allows that municipalities may adopt community plans that guide growth and development in a community. Part 26, Section 884, of the Act defines an **official community plan (OCP)** as "a general statement of the broad objectives and policies of the local

government respecting the form and character of existing and proposed land use and servicing requirements in the area covered by the plan” (Province of British Columbia 1997). The policies in an OCP relate to issues of land use, such as transportation, residential and commercial development, and industrial and agricultural development, and may include policies related to social development, protection of the natural environment, protection from hazardous conditions, the revitalization of commercial areas, and heritage conservation.

While an OCP does not commit or authorize a local government to take any action toward policies stated in the plan, the Act states that “all bylaws enacted or works undertaken by a council, board or greater board, or by the trustees of an improvement district, after the adoption of (an official community plan) shall be consistent with the relevant plan” (Province of British Columbia 1997). Furthermore, though adoption of a plan is optional, the legislation mandates that certain measures must be taken once a plan is adopted. For example, if an OCP is adopted, it must include the policies of the local government on the provision of affordable housing, rental housing, and special needs housing. The Act also mandates that the council must consult with school boards for input on the siting and building of schools.

Regional Governance and The Growth Strategies Act

Though the legal authority of regional governments in British Columbia was removed in 1983, the Greater Vancouver area continued to incorporate regional growth management strategies into its planning efforts. By the late 1980s, provincial legislation had been passed that allowed for some autonomy and flexibility for regional districts. In 1992, when the New Democratic Party came into power and the political environment became more sympathetic to planning issues, the Province began to develop the Growth Strategies Act. Recognizing the advantages of addressing such cross-boundary issues as transportation, green space, and air and water quality at a regional level, the Province adopted the Act in June of 1995. Departing from previous efforts at regional governance, the Act emphasizes

what Paget (1995, section 2.3) calls a “confederal” system of government in which “regional districts are collectives, cooperatives, or confederations of municipal governments,” reflecting the growing trend toward regional governance and integration of governmental levels in decision-making.

Regional Districts

All of British Columbia, except for an area along the Alaskan Panhandle, is divided into twenty-nine regional districts. The districts are distinct corporate entities, each managed by a board of directors comprised of representatives from both the municipal and non-municipal areas within its boundaries. Though representation on the board is by council prerogative, most electoral areas within a regional district are represented by a single director elected by the area’s residents. The voting rules are determined by local legislation, and the number of representative seats assigned to each council is determined by the regional district’s Letters Patent.

Regional districts have traditionally been involved primarily with general and local services, such as fire protection, water supply, general administration, solid waste disposal, and so on, but with the re-writing of provincial legislation relating to regional districts in 1989 and the passage of the 1995 Growth Strategies Act (now Part 25 of the Municipal Act), the role of regional districts in growth management was redefined.

The Growth Strategies Act

While local level planning in British Columbia has functioned well, BC’s Growth Strategies Act is an attempt to address issues that exceed municipal boundaries. Rather than provincial legislation mandating specific growth management regulations, however, the Act proposes tools for growth management at a regional scale. Fundamental to the strategies laid out in the Act is the concept of cooperation and coordination among multiple levels of government. Thus, rather than a prescriptive

mandate for growth management, the Growth Strategies Act provides a planning framework with the flexibility to accommodate growth while meeting regional and local needs.

The three fundamental elements of the Act, the Regional Growth Strategy (RGS), the Regional Context Statement (RCS), and the Implementation Agreement (IA), are provided as *tools*, rather than *mandates*, for local governments in developing regional growth management. However, once a Regional Growth Strategy is voluntarily adopted, a number of implementation requirements are mandated in the Act. Though “there are no penalties within the legislation or provisions which prescribe or enable actions to be taken with regard to non-performance,” the linkages established between a RGS, a RCS, and an IA, bring the Section 884 provisions to bear on follow-through (Karlsen 1997). The nature of each of these tools, and their role in promoting the principles put forth in the Growth Strategies Act, is described below.

Regional Growth Strategies

According to the Growth Strategies Act, “The purpose of a regional growth strategy is to promote human settlement that is socially, economically and environmentally healthy and that makes efficient use of public facilities and services, land and other resources” (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995b, 4). To achieve such ends, the Act specifies fourteen goals to which a regional growth strategy should aspire, including avoidance of urban sprawl, minimization of automobile use, sensitivity to and protection of the environment and resources, community sensitive economic development, affordable housing, and protection of cultural heritage (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995b). Initiated by regional districts, RGSs are referred to all affected local governments before implementation. While adoption of a RGS is not required, a provision in the Act allows the Lieutenant Governor in Council to require development of a RGS “where conditions of change indicate there is a need but cooperative action isn’t happening voluntarily” (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995a, 8).

Though *adoption* of a RGS is voluntary, the Growth Strategies Act mandates a set of conditions for the *implementation* a RGS. For example, a RGS must cover a period of at least twenty years and must include population and employment projections that address the needs of the projected populations in the areas of housing, transportation, regional district services, parks and natural areas, and economic development. Furthermore, unless requested by the regional district board, a RGS is required to apply to all of the regional district for which it is adopted.

Once a RGS is adopted, all bylaws, works, and services adopted within the regional district must be consistent with the strategy. Throughout the process of initiating and implementing a regional growth strategy, the Act provides for consultation with and consensus between the different players, with the recognition that local “buy-in” is essential to the success of the strategy (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995a, 11).

Regional Context Statements

Once a Regional Growth Strategy has been adopted, municipalities within the regional district must adopt a regional context statement within two years. The RCS must identify a) the relationship between the municipality’s OCP and the content of the RGS and b) how the OCP is to be made consistent with the RGS over time (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995b). After it is prepared by the municipality, the RGS must be submitted to the regional district for approval in order to ensure compatibility between the two levels of government. Once a RCS is adopted as part of an OCP, Section 884 establishes the formal link between RGS policies and a municipality’s regulatory and capital programs.

Implementation Agreements

In order to promote coordination between different levels of government, the Act allows for regional governments to enter into agreements with local, provincial, and federal governments on the

implementation of growth management strategies. Such agreements are useful in managing such trans-boundary issues as transportation and watershed management (Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1995a).

APPENDIX IV 1994 PEMBERTON OFFICIAL COMMUNITY PLAN (BYLAW NO. 355) SUMMARY

While the OCP does not require specific action by decision makers, it does limit what a council can do; according to the Municipal Act, officials may not enact bylaws that are inconsistent with the “policies or intent” of the Plan (Village of Pemberton 1994, 1). Thus, with input from the public and professional consultants, Pemberton’s Council has developed its growth management strategies based on the policies set out in its Official Community Plan. The following summarizes the Village of Pemberton’s OCP and thus, its official approach to growth management:

Section 1.0

Section 1.0 of the OCP provides an introduction to the nature and utility of an Official Community Plan as a land use policy tool of municipal governments. This section also outlines the process employed in developing the plan, including consultation with community members and with professional planning consultants.

Section 2.0

This section of the OCP offers an explanation of the Village’s vision for the future. With a detailed description of the town’s demographic characteristics, the plan sets the context for its planning strategy. Noting the increasing annual growth rate and the slight ageing of the population (Village of Pemberton 1994), the plan notes the changing housing and service needs of the town’s residents.

The context thus set, the plan outlines five fundamental principles that underlie the planning strategy that the town will follow over the next decade. The following summarizes these five principles:

- The plan reflects the Village's desire to **encourage growth**. According to the OCP, "Respondents to the Village's survey of households, and the OCP Advisory Committee overwhelmingly support the notion of growth for Pemberton, particularly in the residential and commercial sectors" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 7). Furthermore, the plan specifies that the town has great potential in attracting growth as a retirement centre, as a place for families, as a tourist destination, and as an area of affordable housing for the Whistler community.
- The plan, recognizing the significance of the surrounding natural environment in attracting growth to the area, calls for **protection of the environment**. According to the plan, the town's growth management strategy "must strike a balance between providing growth and preserving/enhancing the spectacular natural environment that defines Pemberton" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 7).
- Wishing to preserve the current lifestyle and "cohesive sense of identity" in the town, the OCP calls for the **protection of the village character of Pemberton**. This includes maintaining the low residential densities, pedestrian friendly design, and rural and urban elements of the town (Village of Pemberton 1994, 8).
- To accommodate the town's growing population, the plan calls for the **improvement of recreational opportunities**. This would include more facilities for both indoor and outdoor leisure and recreation activities, including a network of walking and cycling trails within the village.
- Finally, the plan calls for the **provision of municipal services** to accommodate population growth. Stressing cost-effectiveness, the plan calls for dependable roads, sewers, water and drainage systems, as well as an effective flood proofing system.

Section 3.0

Section 3.0 of the plan discusses issues surrounding **land use, municipal services, transportation and roads**, and areas of **environmental/natural hazard**, listing the policies associated with each area of concern.

In accordance with the above stated principles, the policies listed in the plan reflect the pro-growth approach adopted by the Council. For example, Policy Number One, which addresses residential land use, identifies ten sites in and around the Village of Pemberton as targeted areas of residential development. The remaining policies on residential development specify the preferred character and type of the intended developments, with an emphasis on multi-family housing and units suitable for seniors. Finally, the plan states that while the existing mobile home park will not be removed, no more sites will be made available for the development of such parks.

Likewise, policies relating to commercial development in the town's core are geared toward accommodating residential and tourist growth and the resulting increase in demand for commercial services. Though the core commercial area has a surplus of commercial space and undeveloped parcels, and the town's current population is inadequate to support downtown retailers, the plan indicates that the village's current boundaries will remain the same in anticipation of growth. Additionally, the plan emphasizes development of "highway-commercial" operations such as motels, gas stations, lumberyards and travellers' restaurants adjacent to the highway. In order to achieve these ends, the policies listed in the plan call for mixed use zoning in the downtown core, downtown revitalization and beautification, promotion of tourist-oriented rail passenger service to Pemberton, and accommodation for home-based businesses.

Most of the remaining policies are similarly designed to accommodate, even encourage, growth. These policies appear within the following categories:

- **community use facilities**

Policies Fifteen through Seventeen call for the development of facilities geared toward tourists and residents, such as museums, information centers, theaters, and galleries, and the development group homes for special needs residents.

- **parks and recreation**

Policies Eighteen through Twenty-three call for new recreational facilities to improve quality of life for the residents of the village and the entire Pemberton Valley. The plan calls for the construction of a new recreation center, a trail system through the village for walking, cycling, and cross-country skiing, and the development of several park sites within the village.

- **municipal services**

Policies Thirty-one through Thirty-six call for upgrading the water system. This would involve improving the distribution system, switching to a new groundwater source, building a second reservoir, and enhancing the town's sanitary sewage capacity.

- **transportation and roads**

Policies Thirty-seven through Forty-six call for expansion of rail, road, airport, and pedestrian systems to accommodate and encourage residential, commercial, and tourist growth.

- **environmental/natural hazard areas**

Policies Forty-seven and Forty-eight confirm the Province's identification of One Mile Lake as an area of environmental sensitivity and call for the upgrading of the current dyking system since "most new growth will occur on the floodplain and as such will be subject to the regulations as established by the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 30).

Policies relating to the following two areas are not geared toward promoting growth, but toward defining the type of growth in the village:

- **industrial land**

Policies Twenty-five through Twenty-eight discourage development of industry, designating no new industrial areas and calling for the conversion of the industrial site adjacent to the highway to business/commercial uses.

- **agricultural land**

Policies Twenty-nine through Thirty relate to several areas of land in the village which lie within the Agricultural Land Reserve. The plan states that "as long as these lands remain within the Agricultural Land Reserve, the Village intends to maintain these areas as undeveloped for urban uses" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 23).

Section 4.0

Section 4.0 of the Plan designates three areas as Development Permit Areas and describes the conditions under which development permits will be required. "These Development Permits are primarily intended to give the community the ability to direct the form and character of development beyond the provisions of the Zoning and Subdivisions Bylaws" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 32).

Development Permit Area One includes a multi-family residential zone, Development Permit Area 2 covers the commercial town centre, and Development Permit Area Three refers to commercial sites adjacent to the highway. The specifications associated with the designated areas conform to the goals and strategies of the rest of the OCP; specific guidelines reinforce that development is intended to encourage commercial, residential and tourist growth while maintaining its "small town, rural appeal" (Village of Pemberton 1994, 33).

Section 5.0

This section of the OCP lists the measures employed in implementing the intent and policies of the plan. These measures include council review of land use bylaws for their consistency with the OCP, the development of an emergency management plan, and a list of agencies with which the Village will liaise in planning issues. These agencies are BC Rail; School District #48; the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks; the Squamish-Lillooet Regional District; the Ministry of Transportation and Highways; the Resort Municipality of Whistler; the Mount Currie Indian Band; and the Dyking District.

APPENDIX V SELECTED DATA FROM THE PEMBERTON AND AREA COMMUNITY SURVEY 1996

TABLE 5.1: RATINGS OF ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY LIFE IN PEMBERTON

	very high	high	average	low	very low	don't know
community spirit and pride	1.7	12.1	51.3	24.1	5.6	4.3
neighborliness	9.1	35.8	40.5	9.1	3.5	0.9
social interaction with community residents	2.6	18.5	42.2	23.7	6.9	5.2
friendliness of people	10.8	44.8	35.3	6.5	1.7	0.4
sense of community	3.5	23.7	43.5	17.2	6.9	4.3

	very good	good	average	poor	very poor	don't know
community support services	3.0	16.4	30.6	15.1	1.3	31.0
availability of community clubs and organizations	3.5	26.3	36.2	17.7	4.3	9.5

Source: Reed, 1996: 4,6.

TABLE 5.2: RATINGS OF COMMUNITY AMENITIES IN PEMBERTON

	very good	good	average	poor	very poor	don't know
quality of natural environment	45.7	42.7	8.2	1.3	0.9	0.9
outdoor recreation opportunities	39.7	38.8	8.2	7.3	2.2	1.7
hiking and biking trails	26.7	36.6	18.5	8.6	3.0	4.3
sports services	2.2	13.4	35.3	22.8	6.5	16.0
indoor recreation services	0.9	3.0	15.5	34.5	37.9	5.6
arts and cultural activities	0.0	2.2	13.8	36.2	27.6	17.2
facilities for children	0.0	5.2	15.1	35.8	17.2	22.4
programs for children	0.0	6.5	22.8	26.7	12.9	25.0
facilities for teenagers	0.4	1.3	5.6	27.2	35.3	25.9
programs for teenagers	0.0	0.9	6.9	27.2	33.2	27.6
facilities for seniors	0.9	16.4	25.0	14.2	7.3	31.9
programs for seniors	0.9	11.6	21.6	15.1	7.3	38.4

Source: Reed, 1996: 2,6.

Please note: Bold italicized numbers indicate the most frequent category of response (excluding "don't know" category). Percentages may not equal 100% due to non-response to the question.